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„DARES ⁹AND₁ DICTYS₁„

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF TROY

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKIN
UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY

NATHANIEL EDWARD GRIFFIN

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PREFACE.

It was my earlier intention to present as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Johns Hopkins University a complete study of Dares and Dictys in three sections entitled respectively "Dares and Dictys," "The Origin of Dictys," and "The Origin of Dares." Inasmuch, however, as I have not yet completed my third section and the final pages of my second section, it has seemed best, in order to fulfil at once my long-standing obligations to the University, to publish as my dissertation the first and the greater portion of the second section and to reserve the conclusion of the second and the whole of the third section for subsequent addition. When this unfinished portion is completed the present portion will be reprinted with it and the entire study provided with an index and published as a single monograph.

I wish, in conclusion, to express my deep gratitude for the helpful and stimulating advice of Professor James W. Bright, at whose suggestion this work was undertaken.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 4, 1907.

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DARES AND DICTYS.

I. DARES AND DICTYS.

It has long been a matter of dispute whether the two Latin forgeries that pass under the names of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, respectively, were originally composed in their present Latin form or whether they were translated from earlier prototypes written in Greek.¹ Before proceeding to an examination of this question it will be well to recall briefly the character and contents of these two compositions.

The so-called *Ephemeris de Historia Belli Trojani*² of Dictys Cretensis,³ the earlier and more comprehensive of the two, is a

¹ Each document claims to be a translation from the Greek ; the question at issue is whether this claim is true or false (vid. p. 17).

² Ed. F. Meister, Lipsiae, 1872. The term *Ephemeris* occurs in the earliest ms., Sangallensis, of the ninth or tenth century (cf. Meister, Praef. p. 1).

³ The origin of the name Dictys Cretensis as applied to the alleged author of pre-Homeric Records of the Trojan War has never been satisfactorily explained. Collilieux, *Étude sur Dictys et Darès* (1886), pp. 61 ff., offers the ingenious suggestion that the author of the *Ephemeris* was led to adopt the name Dictys and to devise the story of the discovery of Dictys' annals (vid. summary of Prologue, infra, p. 7-9) by the very similar story of the finding of the body of St. Barnabas, as told c. 478 by the Cypriote monk Alexander (cf. Kedrenos, *Σύνοψις ιστοριῶν*, ed. Bekker, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., Bonn, 1839, II, 618, and Suidas, Lexicon. sub. *Θεία*), and afterwards incorporated in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 1698, II, 418 ff. According to Collilieux's interpretation, the two accounts present the following striking parallelisms :

"Saint-Barnabé (c. d. *filis prædisant*), compagnon de Saint Paul (en hébreu Saul, c. d. *interrogé*), fut découvert dans un antre, sous un cerisier, près de Salamine en Chypre, par Anthémios (c. d. *florissant, heureux*), évêque (c. d. *chef des prêtres ou pasteurs*) de cette ville. Il tenait sur sa poitrine l'Evangile de saint

prose history of the Trojan war beginning with the Rape of Helen and ending with the Death of Ulysses. The history is divided into six books, of which the first five treat of the Siege of Troy, the last of the Return of the Greeks. The narrative is straightforward, well proportioned, and written in a very fair Latin style.¹

Mathieu, écrit sur des *tablettes de Thua*. Anthémios porta cet Evangile à l'archevêque de Constantinople, qui envoya le livre et le porteur à l'empereur Zénon. L'empereur, après avoir fait dorer l'évangile, le fit soigneusement placer dans son palais; et entre autres dons il accorda à Anthémios l'indépendance."

"Voyons maintenant l'Ephéméris. Dictys (Δεκτρης-υις, fils démontrant), compagnon d'Idoménée (ou *Eidoménée*, qui se trouve aussi, et qui fait aussitôt songer à *eldoméros*, vu, connu), fut enseveli avec le journal de la guerre de Troie, écrit sur les *tablettes de Tilia*. Ce journal fut découvert dans le sépulcre de l'auteur à Gnosse, en Crète, par des pasteurs qui l'offrirent à leur maître Eupraxis (c. d. *heureux*). Celui-ci porta l'ouvrage à Rutilius Rufus, gouverneur de l'Ile, qui envoya le livre et le porteur à l'empereur Néron. L'empereur fit soigneusement placer le journal dans sa bibliothèque, et entre autres présentes, il accorda à Eupraxis le droit de cité" (cf. infra, pp. 7-9).

The parallelism in the above reports, barring the somewhat fantastic interpretation placed upon the proper names by Collilieux, are, no doubt, striking and indicate quite clearly that the one account was suggested by the other. However, inasmuch as the annals of Dictys were, in all probability, composed much earlier than the fifth century (cf. p. 3, note 2), it is necessary to regard the story of Barnabas as suggested by that of Dictys, not the reverse. Consequently the theory of Collilieux, though interesting as showing the way in which apocryphal stories of this sort propagate themselves, cannot be held to shed light upon the origin of the name Dictys Cretensis. More plausible is the conjecture of Dunger (*Dictys-Septimius*, 1878, p. 34), that the name Dictys (which occurs as the name of four different personages in Greek mythology, cf. Roscher, *Die griech. u. röm. Myth.*, sub *Diktys*) was suggested by the Latin adjective *Dictaeus*, applied to Crete (< the Cretan Δικτή, a nymph and mountain range) by Virgil (*Dictaeae arva*, *Aen.*, III, 171, etc.), Ovid (*Dictaeae rura*, *Met.*, III, 223), and other Latin writers (cf., also, Δίκτυννα, a well-known Cretan epithet of Artemis). The application to alleged authors of pre-Homeric annals of an adjectival appellation denoting the country to which they belong is very common, cf. Σίσυφος ὁ Κῶος, Φειδαλλίος ὁ Κορινθίος, Κόρινθος ὁ Ἰλεὺς, Δάριος ὁ Φρύγῃ, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ἀκάνθιος, etc. (vid. p. 14, note 1).

¹The earliest verdicts upon Dictys' style are, as a rule, favorable (J. Mercerius, Preface to his ed. of Dictys, 1618; G. Barth, *Advers. comment. libri sexaginta*, lib. 57, cap. 20, p. 2717 ff., 1624; J. Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, pp. 742 ff., 1627; G. Scioppius, *Epist.* 5 in *Paradoxis litterariis*, 1628; Madame Dacier, Preface to ed. of Dictys, 1684; Heyne, *Primus excursus ad lib. 2, Aeneidos*, ed. Lemaire, p. 307, 1776); later verdicts are, in general, unfavorable (J. Gronovius, *Observat. Ecclesiast.*, cap. 25, 1662; Fabricius, *Biblio. Lat.*, I, 6, 1697; Bernhardt, *Grundr. d. röm. Lit.* A, 112, 1865; Perizonius, *Dissert. in Smids' ed. of Dictys*,

The contents are derived from a variety of post-classical sources, mostly of creditable standing.¹ The date of composition is, presumably, the fourth century, A. D.²

1702; Dederich, Praef. to ed., 1832, and Meister, Praef. to ed., 1872). The truth appears to lie midway between Barth's opinion, that "he was a man of ancient eloquence" and the opinion of Dederich who maintains that his style is as vicious as "that of Hegisippus, Amiantus Marcellinus, Sulpicius Severus, and Orosius." Dictys' Latinity, while greatly inferior to the best standards of antiquity, is vastly superior to that of Dares. Vid. Collilieux, *Étude sur Dictys et Dares*, Grenoble, 1886, pp. 24, 25, from whom a large number of the foregoing citations are taken.

¹ Although it is not always possible, by reason both of the confusion of legends in Dictys and of the previous occurrence of the same legend in more than one earlier writer, to determine, with certainty, the exact source of each, it nevertheless appears that the following authors were among the number consulted, directly or indirectly, by Dictys: Homer, *Iliad* (Ship-catalogue), Apollodorus, *Βιβλιοθήκη* (names of Priam's sons and genealogies of Helen, Antenor, etc.), Lykophron, *Κασσάνδρα* and scholiasts (Death of Oinone and murder of Achilles in the temple of Apollo), Ptolemaios Chennos, *Καὶ τὴν ἰστροπία* (Menelaus' absence in Crete, election of Palamedes as commander of the Greeks), Philostratos, *Ἡρωικός* (Achilles' love for Polyxena, allusion to the Cretan earthquake and, perhaps, the Campaign in Moesia), Virgil, *Aeneid* (capture of Troy), and perhaps Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Strife for the Palladium, in Ovid, for the arms of Achilles), Pliny (names of Phrygian cities allied to Troy), and Hyginus, *Fabulae* (Deiphobus' part in the murder of Achilles). Cf. Dunger, *Dictys-Septimius*, Dresden, 1878, pp. 38 ff.

² Much critical ingenuity has been expended in the attempt to determine the date of composition of the *Ephemeris*. Dunger (op. cit., 1878, p. 53) believes that the *Ephemeris* was written somewhere between the appearance of Philostratos' *Ἡρωικός*, A. D. 260 (whence the allusion in the Dictys-Prologue to the earthquake in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign, vid. p. 8, note 3), and the earliest reference to the *Ephemeris*, by Syrianos (c. 400), and in this he is followed by Havet, *Sur le date du Dictys de Septimius*, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1878, p. 238. However, inasmuch as the supposed allusion to the *Ephemeris* by Syrianos is not genuine, but a late interpolation (vid. Collilieux, op. cit., 1886, pp. 12 and 56), it is clear that this means of determining the posterior limit of Dictys' date must be abandoned. In general, however, and without at present raising the question of a Greek original, we may accept the conclusion of Joly (*Roman de Troie*, 1870, I, pp. 181 ff.), who perceives in the style and moral sentiment of the *Ephemeris* evidence that it was not written later than the fourth century. In particular, numerous stylistic imitations of Sallust and Virgil (cf. infra, pp. 114 ff.), as well as occasional Hellenisms and the allusions in the Prol. and Epis. to Nero (whose pro-Hellenic sympathies are here obviously played upon) alike betoken a period prior to the disruption of relations with the literary past, and therefore well within the fourth century. A means of lowering the anterior limit 250 is sought by Havet (op. cit.) in the allusion of the Dictys-Prologue to Rutilius Rufus as *illius insulae (sc. Cretae) consularis*

In general character and contents the *De Excidio Trojae Historia*¹ of Dares Phrygius² presents a marked contrast to Dictys' *Ephemeris*. Dares' history consists of an ill-assorted aggregation of meagre details,³ written in forty-four short chapters of

(l. 21), an allusion that would appear to indicate that the author of the *Ephemeris* lived at a period sufficiently subsequent to the reign of Constantine (who first instituted the official title *consularis*) to have forgotten that in the reign of Nero the official title of a Cretan governor was invariably *proconsul*; therefore, not before the second half of the fourth century. In pursuance of this hypothesis, Havet calls attention to the possible identification of the G. Aradius Rufinus, to whom the Epistle is addressed, with a Roman of that name who was *comes orientalis* in 363, rather than with another of the same name who was *prefect of Rome* in 304 (cf. Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Lit.*, 3d ed., § 423, 3). Finally, Collilieux (op. cit., p. 66) finds in the striking parallelism, already pointed out (p. 1, note 3), between the stories of the discovery of the body of St. Barnabas and of the Dictys *ms.*, reason to suppose that the latter was not composed until after the year 478. Caution must, however, be exercised against accepting any of the foregoing attempts to lower the anterior limit of the date of the *Ephemeris*, inasmuch as they all proceed upon the assumption that the Latin text (including, of course, the Prologue and Epistle) represents the original form of Dictys' annals—an assumption that cannot, in the light of what has been said (p. 1, note 1), be taken for granted. Hence, the only conclusion in which we are at present warranted is that the *Ephemeris*, in its present Latin form, was surely composed after 250, and possibly after 304 and 363—the dates of the possible prototypes of the Rufinus of the Epistle, which, in contradistinction to the Prologue, appears to be the work of the Latin translator (cf. *infra*, pp. 118 ff.). The posterior limit, on the other hand, can hardly be brought below the year 400 for the stylistic reasons already adduced, which, having reference to the imitation of Latin authors, can be held applicable only to the translation.

¹ Ed. Meister, Lipsiae, 1873. This title occurs between the introductory epistle and the history in the earliest mss.

² A Trojan priest named Dares is mentioned in the *Iliad* (ε, 9).

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης, ἀφρευός, ἀμύμων
Ἰρεὺς Ἠφαιστοῖο.

But the association of our Dares, who is a warrior, with the Homeric priest, though accepted, apparently without hesitation, by previous commentators, appears to us open to very grave doubt.

³ Thus, the author limits his war narrative, in the main, to a bare recital of the length of each battle, the names of victors and vanquished, the number of the slain, the occurrence and duration of truces, etc. Moreover, inconsistencies are not lacking. Meriones is twice killed (cap. XIX, XXIII); ~~Sarpedon~~ slays Perses (cap. XXVI), who has appeared (cap. XIX) on the side of the Trojans; Priam at first hopes to exchange Helen for Hesione (cap. XI), but afterwards indignantly spurns the efforts of Ulysses and Menelaus to regain Helen (cap. XVIII); Nepos

¹ barbarous Latin.¹ The narrative opens with the Argonautic Expedition and ends with the Destruction of Troy. No attempt is made to marshall events in a coherent or orderly sequence, and more space is devoted to occurrences antecedent to the Siege than to the Siege itself. The version of the different incidents is so brief that the determination of specific sources for each is impossible. In general, an invariably corrupt form of ancient tradition² bears evidence of the use of late and impure sources.³ The history⁴ dates, presumably, from the sixth century A. D.⁴

affirms in his introductory Epistle that he has translated without alteration the very words of Dares, but in cap. XII he introduces *Dares Phrygius* as though a second Dares were intended. Evidences of omission also occur. The entire Argonautic expedition, elaborately prepared for, is dismissed with the brief remark: *Colchos profecti sunt, pellem abstulerunt, domum reversi sunt* (cap. II). So too the Greek leaders, Polidarius and Machaon, though described in detail (cap. XIII) and mentioned in the Ship-catalogue (cap. XIV), nowhere afterwards figure in the action.

¹ The proverbially wretched style of Dares' history may be illustrated by the following characteristic sentences: *Audivit, quia hostes parati sunt* (cap. XV); *rogunt eum in consilio esse* (cap. XVIII); *mittit inducias petere*, cap. XXXI (cited Dunger, *Die Sage von troj. Kriege*, 1869, p. 7). Peculiarly irritating is Dares' constant habit of verbal repetition: e. g. *Antenor . . . navim conscendit et . . . venit Magnesiam ad Peleum . . . dicit . . . ut Hesione redderetur . . . Antenor . . . navim ascendit . . . advectus est ad Telamonem, rogare eum coepit, ut Priamo Hesionem sororem redderet*, etc., *ad nauseam* (cap. V). Similarly such stock expressions as *fit magna caedes*; *tempus pugnae supervenit*; *nox proelium diremit*; *dum indutiae sunt*, etc., recur with tiresome frequency. This habit of incessant repetition is ably characterized by a thirteenth century German redactor, Albertus Stadensis, who writes in his *Troilus* (ed. Merzdorf, Leipsic, 1875):

Vocibus instare nos semper oportet eisdem
Sternuntur, sternunt, milia multa cadunt. (Lib. III, vs. 671-2).

² Thus Dares represents as the ultimate cause of the Trojan War, not the traditional wrath of Eris, but the inhospitable treatment shown the Argonauts by Laomedon (cap. II). To avenge this ill-treatment, not because of Hesione's ransom, Hercules destroys Troy (cap. III) and in counter-revenge, Alexander abducts Helen (cap. X).

³ In the *Historia* appear occasional episodic resemblances to Homer, *Iliad* (Catalogue of ships and list of Trojan leaders), Hyginus, *Fabulae* (Argonautic Expedition), Dracontius, *De Raptu Helenae* (Rape of Helen), and the *Mythologus Vaticanus Primus* (Destruction of Troy by Hercules), but of a character so vague and fugitive as to warrant the assumption that Dares derived the materials of his history from some such abstract of these writers or their sources as may have existed in a contemporaneous school compendium of Trojan histories. Cf. Wagner, *Beitrag. zu Dares Phrygius*, *Philologus* XXXVIII, 91 ff. (1889).

⁴ A period as late as the sixth century is rendered probable by the barbarousness of

Notwithstanding a total lack of intrinsic literary merit, Dares and Dictys enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages a widespread popularity¹—which equaled, if it did not surpass, that accorded to the three great rival tales of Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander.² This popularity is to be ascribed primarily to the

Dares' style and his occasional resemblance to the *Mythographus Vaticanus Primus* (first half of sixth century) and other works of late Latin authors (vid. preceding note); a period no later, by a reference to Dares on the part of Isidore of Seville (ob. 636) in his *Origines* I, 41 (*apud gentiles vero primus Dares Phrygius de Graecis et Trojanis historiam edidit*) and by the presence of two long excerpts from Dares in the chronicle of the Franks (seventh century) ascribed to Fredegarius Scholasticus. The earliest ms. of the *Historia*, Monacensis n. 601, dates either from the ninth or tenth century (vid. Meister, *Præf.* to ed. p. iv). Cf. Joly, *Roman de Troie*, I, 170 (1860); Wagener, *Phil.*, xxxviii, 91 ff. (1889); Teuffel and Schwabe, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*, § 471 (1892).

¹ As is abundantly attested by the large number and extensive distribution of medieval mss., translations and adaptations of each. The earliest extant mss. of each author date either from the ninth or tenth centuries and multiply rapidly thereafter, spreading from Italy to Sicily, Switzerland, France, Spain, England, Germany, Holland, and other countries of Europe. The earliest vernacular adaption, in French, by the twelfth century Benoit de Sainte More, was soon succeeded by translations and adaptations in German, Latin, English, Russian, Italian, Irish, and even Icelandic (the *Trojanmana Saga*).

² That the story of Troy yielded in popularity to no one of its three great rivals in the field of medieval romance is sufficiently attested by the prominent position assigned to the "tale of Troy" in various contemporary lists or catalogues of the popular romances of the day. Thus at the opening of the fourteenth century, the author of the *Cursor Mundi* (ed. Morris, *E. E. T. S.*, 57, 1) writes at the beginning of his prologue as follows:

Men ȝernen iestes for to here
And romaunce rede in dyuerse manere
Of Alisandre þe conqueroure
Of Iulius Cesar þe emperoure
Of Greke and Troye þe longe strif
þere mony mon lost his lif etc. (including allusions to Arthur
and Charlemagne).

And again in the sixteenth century, the Scottish poet David Lindsay likewise couples the tales of Troy with those of Arthur and Alexander in the *Epistil to his Dreame* (ed. Hall, *E. E. T. S.*, 19, 2, p. 264):

I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue
Off Hectour, Arthour, and gentyll Iulyus,
Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,
Off Jasone, and Media, all at lenth,
Off Hercules the actis honorabyll, etc.

fact that each author claims that he has been an actual participant in the Trojan War and an eye-witness of the events he records.¹ These claims, set forth in each case in a preface and repeated in the course of each history, are too familiar to require detailed repetition.

The preface of Dictys' *Ephemeris* consists of two parts, a Prologue and an Epistle. According to the Prologue, the annals of

Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioyes,
And Seigis all, of Tyir, Thebes, and Troye.
(vs. 34-41.)

Indeed, from a period prior to the date of the *Cursor Mundi* to a time subsequent to that of Lindsay, the story of Troy finds frequent commemoration both by way of explicit reference and by way of scenic representation or brief narrative summarization both in England and, as frequently, upon the continent. Easily outstripping in popularity the minor cycles—as, for example, the cycles of Thebes and Aeneas, with examples of which it is closely associated in many medieval MSS.—the legend of Troy finds perhaps its closest analogue in that of Alexander. Akin to the latter in apocryphal origin (cf. the pseudo-Callisthenes), cultural significance, and general community of theme, the cycle of Troy shared with that of Alexander the immediate office of administering to the medieval thirst for the marvels and wonders of the ancient world.

¹ That the medieval popularity of Dares and Dictys is due in large part to their assumed character as veracious and authentic historians is abundantly attested by frequent medieval references to each author in this capacity. To the truthfulness of Dares, Joseph of Exeter pays the following tribute in his *Historia de bello Trojano* (c. 1187), I, 24 ff.:

Mira quidem dictu sed vera, aduertite, pandam :
Nam vali Phrygio Martem certissimus index
Explicuit praesens oculus, quem fabula nescit.

So too Albertus Stadensis writes thus of Dares in his *Troilus* (1249), ed. Merzdorf, lib. VI, 697 sqq.:

Nulla poetarum posuit figmenta, Daretis
Historiam soliti scribere, vera tenens,
Et Phrygius fuit ille Dares, et tempore belli
Ipse quidem miles proelia visa refert.

Likewise a French translator of Dares (publ. Anvers, 1592) writes to the same effect as follows: Après avoir cognu Dares Phrygius avoir plus succinctement et véritablement escript de toute la querelle entre les Grecs et les Troyens que nul autre, j'ay bien voulu le traduire en nostre langue, et communiquer à ung chascun, afin que ceux qui pour la rarité d'iceluy ne l'ont pas en grec ou en latin, le voyent en français, et les autres qui n'entendent les susdites langues, le puissent facilement entendre.

the Cretan soldier Dictys, written in ten books,¹ in Phœnician characters² upon linden bark, were exhumed by an earthquake in the thirteenth year of the reign of the emperor Nero,³ and trans-

¹The ms. reading *sex* (Meister, ed., p. 2, foot-note), is clearly a late substitution for *decem*, introduced, no doubt, in accordance with the number of books in the Latin text. The reading *decem* not only accords with the more natural number of books to be expected in a history of this kind, but is clearly demanded by the ms. reading *quinque* in the Epistle, there given as the number of books condensed into one by Septimius in the sixth book of his Latin translation. Dederich's readings *novem* for *sex* (in the Prol.), and *quatuor* for *quinque* (in the Epis.), for the number of books present in the Greek original and for the number combined in the Latin translations respectively, rest on no surer foundation than the reading *novem* (Θ') in an otherwise inaccurate entry in Suidas' Lexicon, ed. Bernhardt, sub *Diktys* (vid. infra, p. 25, note 1) and, as we have said, encounter flat contradiction in the ms. reading *quinque* in the Epistle. Cf. Dunger, *Dictys-Septimius* (p. 3), who accepts *quinque* but retains *novem* on the strained hypothesis of an intentional variation between Prologue and Epistle (vid. p. 119, note 1).

²A characteristic feature of forged documents alleged to be pre-Homeric is the frequency of their allusions to early Greek script. Thus the Prologue and Epistle of the Ephemeris state that Dictys wrote his annals in Phœnician characters (*Phœniceis litteris*, Prol. 1, 8; *litteris Punicis*, Epis. 1, 3; cf., also, *Punicis litteris Agamemnonis nomen designant*, Eph. I, 16). Similarly Suidas, *Lex. sub Korinnos*, states that a certain Korinnos wrote the memoirs of his master Palamedes in the Doric characters, invented by that worthy. Frequent reference is likewise made to the origin of this script. Dictys used the script brought to Greece by Cadmus and Danaus (Agenor), *litteris quæ tum Cadmo et Agenore auctoribus per Græciam frequentabantur* (Epis. 1, 3); *quæ a Cadmo in Achaiam fuerant delatæ* (Prol. 1, 3); *litteris Punicis ab Cadmo Danaoque traditis* (Eph. V, 17); whereas the latter Greek redactors of Dictys-annals (vid. pp. 34 ff.) and Suidas (vid. supra) reproduce the traditional ascription of the earliest Greek alphabet to Palamedes, viz., Malalas, *Χρονογραφία*, ed. Dindorf, in Niebuhr, *Corp. Hist. Script. Byz.* Bonn, 1833, p. 103, ll. 10 ff. (as supplied from *Ἐλογὴ Ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Cramer, p. 204 vid. Noack, *Die griech. Dictys*, *Philologus*, Supplement 6, p. 409); Kedrenos, *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*, ed. Bekker, same series, p. 220, l. 14; Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, ed. Lehms, Paris, 1862, v. 266.

³The selection of the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero as the occasion of the earthquake that brought Dictys' records to light appears to have been suggested by the well-known Christian tradition that connected with that year, made memorable by the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the first great massacre of Christians, many direful portents, such as flames of fire, supernatural voices, spectres, etc. The step thence to an earthquake in Crete may have been facilitated by the memory of Nero's precipitate journey to that isle, and by an allusion to a Cretan earthquake in Philostratos' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* (ed. Westermann, IV, 34), while the association therewith of an early history of the Trojan war may very naturally have been inspired by Nero's pronounced Hellenic predictions (cf. Gudeman, *Literary Frauds among the Romans*, *Transactions of Amer.*

literated into Greek¹ at the emperor's request. According to the Epistle—which purports to be written by Lucius Septimius, a Roman, to his friend Quintus Aradius Rufinus—Septimius states that he has translated the Ephemeris into Latin, retaining the first five books of his original intact, but condensing the last five,² which treat of the Return of the Greeks, into one. Similarly Dares' preface, which likewise consists of a letter—claiming to be written by Cornelius Nepos to his uncle Sallustius Crispus— informs the reader that while at Athens Nepos discovered records of the Trojan War written by Dares the Phrygian who

Phil. Assoc., 1894, p. 152). Again the choice of the Cretan Gnosso as the spot of discovery may well have been dictated by Philostratos' mention of that city as visited by Apollonios (Life of Apollonios, IV, 34), particularly in view of the fact that the same author may, in his reference to a consular Rufus in his Life of the Sophists (I, 19) and in his notably anti-Homeric version of the story of Troy in the *Ἡρωϊκός*, have supplied other hints to the author of the Dictys-Prologue, a probability that appears sufficient to justify the use of Philostratos as a starting point in the determination of the date of the Latin Ephemeris (cf. p. 3, note 2, and Collilieux, op. cit., p. 64).

¹ Notwithstanding the two readings of the Prologue—" [Nero] *jussit in Graecum sermonem ista transferri* (p. 3, l. 5)," and " [Dictys] *peritus vocis ac litterarum Phoenicum* (l. 2)"—the original Dictys ms. must be understood to have been written not in the Phenician language (as stated by Wager, *Siege of Troye*, 1399, p. xiv) but in Greek, the characters only having been Phenician (*Phoenicis litteris*, Prol., l. 8, etc.). This interpretation is borne out by the statements in the Epistle that the language of the original was Greek, *nam oratio* (in contrast to *litteris*, immediately preceding) *Graeca fuerat* (l. 12), and in Eph. V, 17 where Dictys makes the following express statement: *Haec ego Gnosius Dictys comes Idomenei conscripsi oratione ea, quam maxime inter tam diversa [sc. Graece] loquendi genera consequi ac comprehendere potui, litteris Puniciis ab Cadmo Danaoque traditis*, where the sense *Graece* is evident from the following sentence: *Neque sit mirum cuiquam, si quamvis Graeci omnes diverso tamen inter se sermone agunt, cum ne nos quidem unius eiusdem insulae simili lingua sed varia permixtaque utamur*. (Cf. also, the words of a late interpolation in the *Ἱστορία* of Eudokia; *εὐρητο γεγραμμένον βιβλίον* [sc. *Ἐφημερίς*] *γράμμασι Φοινίκων καὶ μεθερμηνεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ γλώσσῃ*, κτλ, vid. infra, p. 24). We must, accordingly, assume that the Ephemeris of Dictys passed through three distinct processes: (1) it was originally composed in Phenician characters but in the Greek language (cf. *oratio Graeca fuerat* and *Ἀττικῇ γλώσσῃ*; (2) it was transliterated in Greek characters by Eupraxides (Prol. l. 20; Praxis, Epis. l. 12)—the process to which the *in Graecum sermonem* of the Prologue evidently refers; and (3) it was afterwards translated into Latin by Septimius (Epis. l. 16). Cf. Koerting, *Dares and Dictys*, 1874, pp. 48 ff.; Havet, *Sur les préfaces du Dictys-Septimius*, *Revue de Philologie*, 1879, p. 81.

² The ms. reading is *quinque* (vid. p. 8, note 1).

fought on the side of the Trojans.¹ These he has translated into Latin in order that the reader might judge whether Dares, who actually took part in the war, or Homer, who was not born until many years afterward,² possesses the better title to

¹ A striking contrast exists between the pretensions of Dares and Dictys. Dares, the Phrygian soldier, fights on the side of the Trojans (Hist., epis. and cap., xxii); Dictys, the Cretan soldier, on the side of the Greeks (Eph., Prol.). This initial opposition of interests is, for the most part, consistently carried out in the two histories. Thus Dares represents the Trojans in a favorable light. Paris does not—as in Dictys (I, 3)—abduct Helen from the home of Menelaus, but only from the temple of Venus at Cytherea, and not without her full consent (cap. x); Alexander, moreover, is not—as in Dictys (II, 39)—a coward: he kills Antilochus (cap. xxixv), and wounds Menelaus (cap. xxi), Palamedes (cap. xxviii), Achilles (cap. xxxiv), and Ajax (cap. xxxv); Troilus—merely mentioned by name in Dictys (IV, 9)—distinguishes himself in Dares by slaying many Greek leaders (cap. xxix), and wounding Diomedes, Agamemnon (cap. xxxi), and Achilles (cap. xxxiii). In Dictys, on the other hand, interest centers chiefly about the Greeks. Palamedes—mentioned very casually by Dares (cap. xiii, xxv)—is by Dictys endowed with all sorts of virtues (I, 6; II, 15; V, 15). Idomeneus and Meriones, the author's immediate superiors—each mentioned and described only to be killed by Dares (cap. xii, xiv, xix, xxiv)—play in Dictys conspicuous and honorable rôles (II, 19, 38; IV, 7; V, 10). Ajax Telamon—who nowhere distinguishes himself in Dares—is by Dictys repeatedly celebrated as the bravest and most illustrious of the Greeks (II, 3, 12, 48; III, 10; IV, 11 et passim).

Conversely both historians reveal their partisan prejudice by representing their opponents in an unfavorable light. Dictys stigmatizes the Trojans with the standing epithet *barbarians* (II, 38, 40; III, 10), and represents them as coming forth to battle *sine modo atque ordine* (II, 38), and *clamore ingenti ac dissono* (IV, 5); Priam's sons he represents as turbulent and treacherous (I, 7, 11; II, 8, 22, 35, 41, etc.), and as provoking by their insolence the Trojan allies to revolt (III, 1) and offer the Greeks a proposal of friendship which is disdainfully rejected (III, 3). In Dares on the contrary, the fall of Troy is represented as in no sense due to the wiles of Ulysses or to the machinations of Sinon (Eph., V, 12), but solely to the treacherous defection of Antenor and Aeneas (cap. xxxix); the Greeks, though ultimately victorious, are forced to sue for peace seven times, the Trojans but three times; the total Greek slain is 886,000, the Trojan slain but 676,000 (cap. xliiv).

The occasional instances of an attitude of apparent hostility on the part of each historian to members of his own party (e. g. to Achilles on the part of Dictys; to Antenor and Aeneas on the part of Dares) are to be attributed to a common spirit of antagonism to Homer (vid. p. 13, note 2).

² Writers of pre-Homeric forgeries are at constant pains to emphasize the priority and superior authenticity of their own documents as contrasted with the subsequent records of Homer, based, at best, upon indirect sources of information. Thus, the curious statement that Homer "wrote his Iliad ninety-nine years after the Trojan war" occurs in a marginal note to Kedrenos' (eleventh century) version

veracity;¹ for Homer was afterwards tried at Athens for representing the gods as fighting with men.²

The ingenious pretensions thus set forth in these two prefaces

of Dictys' annals, *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* (see Allatius, op. cit. p. 1774). In like manner Philostratos in his *Ἡρωικός* (ed. Westermann, XIX, 3) reports varying accounts of the period that elapsed between the Trojan war and the composition of the *Iliad*. Similarly the twelfth century Benoit de Ste-More (*Roman de Troie*, ed. Joly, vs. 53-55), and the thirteenth century Jean de la Maire des Belges (Illustr. de Gaul chap. 19), prefer Dares and Dictys to Homer who did not live until one hundred years after the occurrence of the events which he relates. Again Malalas, sixth century (*Χρονογραφία*, ed. Dindorf, p. 132, ll. 19 ff.), and Tzetzes (*Χαλιδάδες*, ed. Kiessling, V, 29, 30), concur in the statement that the pre-Homeric memoirs written by Dictys and Sisyphos of Cos (vid. p. 14, note 1) were afterwards used by Homer and Virgil. Finally Ptolemaios Chennos (first century) reports in the fifth book of his *Καὶνὴ ἱστορία* (according to the excerpts of Photios) that Homer obtained from the Memphian priest, Phanitas, an *Iliad* written by Phantasia, daughter of Nicargos, king of Memphis.

¹ Medieval writers are ever fond of contrasting the strict veracity of Dares and Dictys with the mendacious fictions of Homer. Thus Constantine Manasses in his *Σύνοψις ἱστορικὴ* (ed. Bekker, p. 23) writes that *Homer used good documents, but usually misrepresented the facts*: Albertus Stadensis (thirteenth century) censures Homer's fiction of the cloud-born steeds of Dolon and Rhesos (*Troilus*, lib. III, vv. 217 sqq.) and commends the truthfulness of Dares, *Qui praeter verum scriptitat inde nil* (lib. III, v. 240); and Guido de Colonna (thirteenth century) in his *Historia Trojana* accuses Homer of taking liberties with the faithful record of Dares as follows:

[Daretis] historie puram et simplicem veritatem in versuta vestigia [Homerus] variauit, fingens multa que non fuerunt, et que fuerunt aliter transformando (*Hist. Troj.*, Strasburg, 1486, p. 1^a, 36 ff.

² This strange charge—an apparent perpetuation of the Platonic charges against Homer, cf. Joly, op. cit., I, 167—occurs also in Philostratos' *Ἡρωικός*, a prolonged diatribe against Homer, in which the author reproves the Greek poet for mixing fiction with fact and, in particular, for representing the gods as intervening in human affairs (ed. Westermann, cap. III, 40; a passage that may be regarded as sustaining at least an indirect relation to the passage in question). Later, medieval writers are fond of repeating this accusation, as, for example, Guido de Colonna, who writes of Homer: *Introduxit, enim, deos, quos coluit antiqua gentilitas, impugnasse Troianos et cum eis fuisse velut virientes homines debellatos* (op. cit., p. 1^a, 29-1^b, 2). Charges against Homer of a like purport occur frequently in the works of Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian writers, being often put forward as an excuse for re-writing the history of the war from a new point of view, or, as in the case of Dio Chrysostomos (first to second century), *Orat.*, XI, as an occasion for proving that there never had been any Trojan war, and constructing a new tale of what the war would have been had there been any (vid. Chassang, p. 348).

c / meet no contradiction in the narratives that ensue. Both histories present such scrupulous attention to detail as would seem to befit the records of eye-witnesses. Dictys declares that he learned the events prior to the outbreak of the war from the lips of Ulysses (Eph. lib. I, cap. 13), the events of the war itself from personal experience (Eph., I, 13), the events subsequent to the war from Ulysses (Eph., VI, 5), Menelaus (Eph., VI, 3), and Neoptolemus (Eph., VI, 10).¹ In like manner Dares became acquainted² with the personal appearance of the Greeks and Trojans partly from personal experience and partly from the reports of the Greeks (Historia, cap. XII).³ These representations are given a further semblance of reality by the careful suppression of all particulars that could have fallen neither under the observation of Dares and Dictys nor of their informants,⁴ by the practically total elimination

¹ Dictys lays great stress upon the precise occasion of his interviews with Ulysses, Menelaus, and Neoptolemus. Ulysses he met not only on the field of battle (Eph. I, 13) but also afterwards, in Crete, where that warrior suffered shipwreck (VI, 5), as did also Menelaus (VI, 3, 4). On the former occasion he naturally learned from Odysseus the events prior to the war, and on the latter, both from Odysseus and Menelaus, the history of events subsequent thereto. Finally when attending the nuptials of his third informant, Neoptolemus, he learns the history of the Return of the Greeks (Νόστοι), VI, 10. Finally—as though to make the record of his life complete—Dictys adds (VI, 11) that in the year following his attendance at the nuptials of Neoptolemus, he was sent to Delphi, in company with Lykophron and Ixaius, to seek relief from a pestilence of locusts in Crete.

² Dares—unlike Dictys—invariably introduces himself in the third person. Cf. "*Dares Phrygius, qui hanc historiam scripsit, ait . . . hos se vidisse*," sqq. (cap. XII) with "*eorum [sc. Idomenei et Merionis] ego secutus comitatum ea quidem, quae ante apud Troiam gesta sunt, ab Ulize cognita quam diligentissime retuli*," sqq." (I, 13).

³ Dares states also that after the capture of Troy he remained in the city with the faction of Antenor (cap. XLIV)—a circumstance that would sufficiently explain his knowledge of the final overthrow of the city, the number slain on each side, and the final disposition of the Trojan prisoners (as related cap. XLIV).

⁴ Strictly interpreted, this statement can be held to apply only to the events of the war. Thus Dictys and—to a far greater degree—Dares allow themselves the liberty of introducing such past events as, having occurred prior to the war, may be regarded as already familiar to the authors through hearsay and common report. Thus Dictys introduces the Rape of Helen, an event witnessed neither by himself nor his informants, but of such immediate note as to require no special authentication, and Dares even permits himself the latitude of introducing such remote events as the Expedition of the Argonauts, the Destruction of Troy by

- ¹ of all miraculous and supernatural agencies,¹ and by the display of an apparently honest attempt to retrieve the reputation of heroes unduly neglected by Homer.²

Hercules and the embassy of Antenor to Greece—events which, in the nature of the case, could have fallen neither under his observation nor that of his informants and which, for that reason, must be regarded as depriving Dares' history of that degree of ocular consistency that is to be found in Dictys.

¹ Dares shows himself a thoroughgoing rationalist and admits no supernatural agencies whatsoever; Dictys is less extreme in this regard and so far compromises with ancient tradition as not infrequently to offer the reader a choice between a literal and figurative interpretation of supernatural occurrences. He thus leaves it uncertain whether the pestilence that visited the Greek fleet at Aulis was due to the wrath of Diana or to the infection of the air by dead bodies (I, 19), and offers three different explanations for the sudden disappearance of Himera (VI, 10). Incidents of a purely mythological import he sometimes omits altogether (e. g., the Apple of Discord and Judgment of Paris, retained in the Byzantine versions of Dictys) or, more often, retains divested of their supernatural character (e. g. Hecuba, about to give birth to Alexander, dreams not of a burning fire-brand, but of the burning of Mt. Ida, III, 26; at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the latter is no longer a goddess, but a mortal, the daughter of Chiron, who is not a centaur, but a man, VI, 7). As though in recompense for the loss of the supernatural machinery of the ancient epos, both histories contain such bits of crass realism as might be supposed to pique the curiosity of the reader without impugning the credit of the historian. Thus, in Dictys, Chryses eventually restores his daughter to Agamemnon because the Greeks have treated her so well (II, 47); the lamentations of the Trojans at the death of Hector are so great that birds fall to earth in multitudes (III, 16). In Dares, Helen has a shapely leg and a beauty spot between the eye-lids (cap. XII); the Wooden Horse of antiquity becomes a horse's head painted on the Scaean gate (cap. XL).

² Dares and Dictys turn the tables upon Homer by exalting the subordinate and slighting the principal Homeric personages. The first process is conspicuously illustrated in Dictys by the prominence assigned Palamēdes—not mentioned by Homer—who is endowed with all sorts of virtues (I, 6; II, 15; V, 15), is sent with Ulysses and Menelaus as ambassador to Troy (I, 4) and, on one occasion, supplants Agamemnon in command (I, 19); and in Dares, by the importance accorded Troilus—mentioned but once by Homer, II. *ω*, 257—whose manifold acts of bravery are repeatedly recorded (XXXII, XXXIII). The second process is seen in the ill-treatment that the more prominent Homeric heroes, Achilles, Ulysses, and Agamemnon, receive at the hands of Dares, who slights them, and of Dictys, who represents the first as uniformly treacherous (III, 15; IV, 10), the second as loud-mouthed and empty-headed (I, 21; II, 15), and the third as selfish and prone to suspicion and jealousy (II, 7, 15).

To reverse thus the fates of Homeric characters was a favorite device of that class of late writers which—as we have already seen (p. 11, note 1) sought to belittle the authority of Homer. Among the lesser Homeric figures selected by these writers for special encomium one of the chief appears to have been Pala-

By this resort to a species of literary imposture much in vogue at the time,¹ Dares and Dictys soon acquired a high reputation for

medes. Thus Suidas, in his *Lexicon* (sub Palamedes), states that that hero composed a poem on the Trojan war that was afterwards rejected from spite by Homer and Agamemnon's descendants. Philostratos in his *Ἡρωικός* objects that Odysseus' wanderings were not due to his ill-usage of Polyphemos but to his hand in the death of Palamedes; and, as we have already seen, Palamedes figures conspicuously, not only in Dictys but also in the later Byzantine versions of Dictys (vid. p. 8, note 2). No writer whose works survive proceeded further in the general upsetting of Homeric relationships than Philostratos (cf. p. 11, note 1) in whose romance, the *Ἡρωικός*, the shade of Prothesilaus—mentioned in Homer but once, *Il.*, β, 698—appears as protagonist, and in a secret disclosure to a vine-dresser of Eleös, vindicates the merits of a number of heroes from the neglect to which they have been consigned by Homer (cf. Chassang, *Hist. du Roman dans l'Antiquité.*, pp. 347 ff). The source of this redistribution of literary justice—though not capable, perhaps, of exact determination—appears to have been but one leading manifestation of a traditional antipathy to Homer that finds expression as early as the fifth century, B. C., in the anti-Homeric diatribes of Xenophanes of Kolophon and of Zoilos, surnamed *Ὀμηρομάστιξ* (see Christ, *Griech. Litteraturgeschichte*, Mueller, *Handbuch*, VII, 68: 1905), and later in the lost *Ἀνθόμνηρος* (in 24 books) of Ptolemaios Chennos, c. 100 A. D. (see Chassang, *op. cit.*, p. 372; Christ, p. 649) and finally, in allegorical form, in the *Ὀμηρικὰ ζῆνῆματα* of Porphyrios of the third century (Christ, p. 861). By reason of the loss of all save the last of these four works, it becomes impossible to say to what extent a reapportionment of praise or blame was carried amongst Homeric characters; but if the ascription of an encomium of Palamedes to the sophist Gorgias be correct (see Christ, p. 284), this practice will be led back to the fifth century, B. C. It is to be observed that with whatever animus these Homeric objections may have been attended, they soon sunk to the conventional harmlessness of a purely rhetorical tour de force undertaken by their practitioners as a valuable exercise in dialectics, and afterwards adopted by the romancers Philostratos, Dictys, and Dares, largely as a means of adding piquancy to their narratives. It goes without saying, however, that the medieval redactors of Dares and Dictys interpreted these representations seriously, repudiated Homer, and converted a practice hitherto undertaken for the most part without feeling into something of the spite and rancor of a genuine literary polemic.

¹ The fiction of ancient mss. found in tombs, or otherwise miraculously preserved, though employed by literary fabricators at all ages of the world, appears to have been particularly current in the period of the decline of Greek letters (cf. the alleged inscriptional authentication claimed by Euhemeros for the marvels related in his *Sacred History*, and the claim of Antonios Diogenes that the records of Dinias, the hero of his *History of the Wonders of Thule*, written upon two tablets of cypress wood were afterwards discovered in the grave of the author by Alexander when he conquered Tyre), and to have been derived from some Greek exemplar by the authors of the Dares and Dictys prefaces (the Nepos of the Dares-epistle stating merely that his ms. was found in an Athenian library), whence

disinterestedness and good faith. Henceforth Homer became virtually set aside¹ and the specious memories of a Dares and Dictys substituted as more trustworthy records of the Trojan War.² Throughout the Middle Ages, faith in these popular idols

it later passed into medieval practice (cf. story of the preservation of the gospel of St. Matthew, p. 1, note 3, and the story of the soi-disant translator of a treatise, *De Vetula*, said to have been found in the tomb of Ovid in Colchis, and other close parallels to the Dictys' story cited by Joly, I, 198). Associated no doubt with the story of long-lost MSS. in more cases than the two under consideration was a still more prevalent fiction—applied with particular frequency to ante-Homeric records of the Trojan war—of fathering anonymous histories of this sort upon imaginary persons, represented in many cases as having been actual participants in the war in question. Thus Dares and Dictys—whose annals are the only ones of this genre that survive—are only the most noted of a number of other supposititious annalists of the Trojan war; e. g., Sisyphos of Cos (who, according to Malalas and Tzetzes, *vid. infra*, p. 62, was a scribe in the employ of the Salaminian Teucer), Korinonos the Ilian (who, according to Suidas, served Palamedes in the like capacity), Pheidaios of Corinth (also mentioned by Malalas), and Antipater the Acanthian (cited by Ptolemaios Chennos, as a source of much fabulous information with regard to the Trojan war; cf. Hercher, *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, Suppl., I. 269 ff.). It is here to be noted that the foregoing names are invariably Greek, a circumstance that will have an obvious bearing upon the investigation of the sources of Dares and Dictys.

¹ The well-nigh complete annihilation of Homeric authority during the ten centuries that intervened between the appearance of our two forgeries and the publication of Chapman's *Iliad* constitutes one of the most significant chapters in the literary history of the Middle Ages. Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Dryden extract their Trojan materials not from Homer but from Dares and Dictys, and in their versions of the *Troilus* and *Cressida* immortalize a fable unknown to classical tradition.

² As regards their respective spheres of influence, Dictys enjoyed a wider circulation in the East, Dares in the West. The reason is obvious, Dictys with his Greek sympathies and his less radical departure from ancient tradition became the natural spokesman of the East, where Greek influence prevailed; Dares with his Trojan sympathies and his more pronounced break with Homeric tradition, became the natural spokesman of the Western nations, who, as is well-known, claimed descent from the house of Priam (cf. C. Wager, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, pp. xi, ff.). In the East Dares remained until a late date virtually unknown, and the Byzantine chroniclers (Malalas, etc.) derived their Trojan histories from Dictys exclusively. In the West both were known, but Dares was invariably accorded the preference. Thus Western writers either follow Dares to the practical exclusion of Dictys (e. g. Joseph of Exeter, Albert of Stade, and the author of the anonymous *Trojumanna Saga*); or—as in the majority of cases—base the earlier portion of their histories upon Dares and employ Dictys (where Dares ends) only by way of supplement or continuation (e. g. Benoit de Ste.-More, Guido de Colonna, Herbert von Fritzlar).

was unbounded and entire.¹ The names Dares and Dictys—particularly the former—appear frequently in various medieval romances upon other than Trojan subjects; inscriptions are dedicated to both by Chaucer in his *Hous of Fame*, v. 1467; and from both histories—through the medium of Benoit or Guido—Chaucer derives the substance of his *Troylus and Creseyde*, Lydgate of his *Troy-Book*, and Caxton of his *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy*. Faith in the authenticity of records that had thus received permanent embodiment in the literature of the Middle ages was not lightly abandoned in the period that followed. The sixteenth century remains, for the most part, firm in its allegiance to Dares and Dictys.² Sir Philip Sidney in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (1595) contrasts with the *feigned* Aeneas of Virgil the *right* [real] Aeneas of Dares Phrygius,³ and, at the turn of the century, despite the previous appearance of Chapman's *Iliad* (1598), it is the old tradition to which Shakespeare reverts and gives final literary expression in his *Troilus and Cressida* (1603). So too in the seventeenth century, in spite of a growing scepticism, critics are not wanting who still believe in the pre-Homeric

¹ François Faragonius in the preface of his 1499 edition of Dictys expresses his delight in publishing the work of ~~so~~ famous an historian as Dictys, *Dictyn luculentum historiographum* (vid. op. cit. Collilieux, p. 16): an Italian translator of Dares and Dictys, Tomaso Porcacchi (1578), places them at the forefront of authors to be read for profit, viz., before Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, etc., and regards them as the first and chief link in the chain of Greek historians (see Joly, I, 176).

² Despite an occasional voice of dissent (e. g. Louis Vives, *De trad. discipl.*, V, p. 125 of ed. of 1636; Wilhelm Xylander, *Annot. in Cedrenum* (1565), para. 67; Joseph Scaliger, 1600, *Epistol. libri II*, epis. cxv), the general opinion, as handed down by lexicographers, etc. (e. g. Conrad Gessner in his *Bibliotheca Universalis*, 1545, sub. Dictys, and Glandorp in his *Onomasticon*, 1589, sub. Cornelius Nepos), still remains favorable to the pretensions of Dares and Dictys. In works of critical scholarship both are admitted on a basis of equality with the classics; Jehan Samxon reproduces portions of each in his sequences of the *Iliad* (1530), and Nicholas Viquier cites them constantly in his *Bibliothèque Historiale*, I, 126, 128, 134, 135, etc. (1587). But before the verdict of such enlightened critics as the three mentioned above, medieval infatuation was doomed to yield and the portentous verdict of Vives, who regarded the two histories as "*figmenta eorum qui de bello famosissimo voluerunt ludere*," became the general rallying cry of critics of the seventeenth century. Vid. Collilieux, op. cit., pp. 21-3.

³ *Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, 1868, p. 36.

antiquity of these records. Leo Allatius in *De Patria Homeri*, (1640), in Gronovius, *Thesaurus*, X, p. 1745, has no doubt of their genuineness, and J. Vossius in *Hist. Graec.*, III, 428 (1624) appends to a list of documents reputedly pre-Homeric no personal disavowal, but contents himself with a casual allusion to the earlier verdict of Vives, that these documents were "*figmenta eorum qui de bello famosissimo voluerunt ludere.*" (Cf. note 3.) A final act of homage is, in this century, accorded these histories by their inclusion in the famous Delphin edition of the classics (1680). It was, in fact, not until the opening of the eighteenth century that pretensions so long maintained at last met thoroughgoing repudiation at the hands of Perizonius who, in his dissertation prefixed to the 1702 edition of the Delphin classics, by proofs too definitive to admit further hesitation, removed for all time the last vestiges of this peculiar veneration.

Henceforth it became clear that an initial suspicion must necessarily attach to the claim of *translation from the Greek*, maintained by Septimius and Nepos in their respective epistles, as being the assertion of writers who may themselves have been the authors of the records that they so blandly ascribe to Dares and Dictys. Whether the authors of these epistles are to be looked upon as the actual perpetrators of the Dares and Dictys forgeries or as the mere translators of these Latin texts from earlier Greek originals is, accordingly, the question to which we must now proceed.

Inasmuch as the histories of Dares and Dictys differ widely in style, matter, and traditional affiliations, it will be necessary to discuss the question of the origin of each separately.

II. THE ORIGIN OF DICTYS.

It will be the purpose of the present inquiry to show that the Latin *Ephemeris* of Dictys¹ does not, as many critics have supposed, represent the original form of Dictys' annals, but

¹The earliest extant version of Dictys' annals.

that it is the translation of a Greek² prototype,³ now no longer extant.⁴

² That a Greek, not a Latin, prototype is to be assumed, is obvious not only from Septimius' own statement that he has translated his history from the Greek, but also from the fact that, with the single exception of the *Ephemeris*, all surviving versions of Dictys' annals are written in Greek (cf. *infra*, note 4).

³ Since the abandonment in the seventeenth century of the old faith in the antiquity of Dictys' records (vid. *supra*, pp. 16, 17), two rival theories have been advanced in explanation of their origin. One theory maintains that Dictys' annals never existed in a form other than the Latin *Ephemeris*; the other theory holds that the Latin *Ephemeris* is, as Septimius claims in his epistle, the translation of an earlier Greek prototype. The theory that a Greek original underlies the Latin text of Septimius is based upon the following grounds. (1) Numerous marked differences in the terms in which Septimius and certain later Byzantine writers refer to Dictys (vid. pp. 29 ff.). (2) Pronounced variations between the Latin *Ephemeris* and a group of later Byzantine versions of Dictys' annals (vid. pp. 34 ff.). (3) The presence in the *Ephemeris* of frequent internal indications of Greek origin: e. g., the theme of the *Ephemeris* (a history of the Trojan War), its underlying conception (as the alleged records of an eye-witness), its sources (in large part Greek), and its exhibition of occasional Greek names and phrases (vid. p. 116). On the other hand, in view of certain characteristics of the *Ephemeris*, and of the undeniably close relationship which that text sustains to the Byzantine versions of Dictys, many scholars have been led to the opposite conclusion, viz. that the Latin *Ephemeris* represents the original form of Dictys' memoirs. Chief among these characteristics are the following. (1) The fundamental agreement, in all essential particulars, in the mode of Dictys-citation employed by Septimius and the Byzantines (vid. p. 28). (2) The basic resemblance between the Latin *Ephemeris* and the Dictys-annals of the Byzantines (vid. pp. 37 ff.). (3) The presence in the *Ephemeris* of unmistakable instances of a stylistic imitation of Sallust, Virgil, and other Latin authors (vid. pp. 113 ff.).

By reason of the apparently equivocal nature of the evidence at hand and the absence of any final and definitive test, the question whether the history of Dictys

⁴ Although a number of Greek versions of Dictys-annals date from a period subsequent to the composition of the Latin *Ephemeris* (vid. p. 34), no earlier Greek Dictys has ever been found or positively known to exist. The fifteenth century Constantine Lascaris expressly states that he has searched for such a ms. in vain (quoted Allatius, *op. cit.* p. 1745). We accordingly assume that the lost Dictys original, after its translation by Septimius, shared the fate of many other Greek monuments (cf. in particular, the lost life of Alexander by the pseudo-Callisthenes), and perished in the general wreck of ancient civilization in the early centuries of our era. To such a catastrophe it may have been rendered the more liable by reason of its previous reproduction in the translation of Septimius and in the transcriptions of the Byzantines (cf., again, the pseudo-Callisthenes, which survives only in the Latin epitome of Julius Valerius). Vid. Koerting, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 54.

All attempts to determine whether the Latin *Ephemeris* depends upon a Greek original have been based fundamentally upon the

is to be accredited to a Latin or to a Greek author has proved one of the most stubborn and hotly contested controversies known to modern critical history. It may, accordingly, not be without interest to trace the leading stages of this discussion from the outset, the more so as a more lively sense will thereby be gained of the nature and scope of the problem under consideration.

The radical opposition of opinion which has prevailed from the beginning with regard to the origin of the Latin *Ephemeris* finds apt illustration in the antagonistic judgments handed down by the early *Dictys* controversialist Vossius, who in his *De Hist. Graec.* III, 428 (1624) speaks out for the Greek *Dictys*, but in his *De Hist. Lat.* III, 742 (1627) is led by further investigation to reverse his earlier opinion in the oft-quoted words: "*Quisquis auctor est ejus operis, Latine, non Graece scripsit.*" From that day to this, the history of critical opinion upon this question presents a perpetual series of alternations between the two extremes here indicated.

In general, the opinion of the earliest (seventeenth century) commentators reveals a marked reaction from the earlier faith in the Greek *Dictys* of pre-Homeric times, and a consequent tendency to discern in the indubitable indications in the *Ephemeris* of stylistic imitation of Sallust, Virgil, etc., positive evidence that the memoirs of *Dictys* never existed in any other than Latin form. So judged Mercerus, who wrote in his 1618 edition of *Dictys*, note to *Eph.* IV, 21: "*Multa indicia sunt Latine scripsisse nostrum, non ex Graeco vertisse*"; James Rutgersius (1618), Vossius (1627), loc. cit.; Scioppius (1628), *Parad. Var. lect.* lib. V, 220; Bachet de Mézeriac (1636), epis. of Ovid I, 4, 57; and Madame Dacier (1680), ed. of *Dictys*, note to IV, 21. As regards the relation between Septimius and the Byzantine versions of *Dictys*, it is of interest to note that these critics either disregard these Byzantine versions altogether, or, as in the case of the *Dictys*-editors Mercerus and Dacier, regard the discrepancy between the account of Oenone's death given in the *Ephemeris*, according to which she died of a broken heart (*Eph.* IV, 21), and the account attributed to *Dictys* by Tzetzes (loc. cit. infra, p. 43, note 1), according to which she hung herself, as evidence that the annals of *Dictys* consulted by Tzetzes and the Byzantines sprang from a tradition separate and distinct from that of which the Roman Septimius afterwards became the author. In the meantime, Jaspas Barth (1624), *Advers* XIV, 13; LVII, 20, by his recognition at once of the essential connection between Septimius and the Byzantine versions of *Dictys*, and of the impossibility of their derivation from a Latin original, paved the way for the first promulgation of the theory of a Greek *Dictys*. Nevertheless, Barth failed to press his observations to their logical conclusion, and remained so far true to the prevailing opinion of his day as to propose the curious hypothesis that the numerous agreements between the Latin and Byzantine texts were due to the use of a Greek translation of the *Ephemeris* by the Byzantines.

At length, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, appeared the first reversion from the view that the *Ephemeris* was originally composed in Latin and the earliest enunciation of the theory of the existence of a Greek *Dictys*. Ulrich

three following grounds: (1) later Byzantine references to Dictys and their presumable relation to the Dictys mentioned in the Latin

Obrecht in his 1691 edition of Dictys advanced the view (reprinted in Valpy, Script. Lat. I, 601) that the basic resemblance between Septimius and the Byzantines was due to the independent derivation of each from a common Greek prototype. Henceforth the new opinion, presented without especial defence by Obrecht, was successively accepted and defended by Fabricius (1697), Biblio. Graec. I, 30 ff. (reprinted by Valpy, op. cit., II, 637 ff.); Perizonius (1702), dissertation on Dictys (reprinted from Smidt's ed. of Dictys by Valpy, I, 19 ff.); and Dederich (1837), ed. of Dictys, praef. pp. xxi-xxii, with the result that the theory that the Ephemeris goes back to a Greek original was accepted without hesitation by the various literary historians of the earlier portion of the nineteenth century: viz. Dunlop (1816), Hist. of Fiction, II, 111; Schoell (1830), Gesch. d. griech. Lit. II, 382; Bernhardt (1842), Pauly, Realencycl. II, 1006 ff.; Cholevius (1856), Die Gesch. d. deut. Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen I, 109 ff.; and Chassang (1862), Hist. du Roman dans l'Antiquité, 362 ff. To the above mentioned critics, Fabricius, Perizonius, and Dederich, as to their earlier seventeenth century opponents, the relation between Septimius and the Byzantine annals of Dictys appeared less a matter of concern than such direct evidence as to the origin of the Latin Ephemeris as lay at hand in the internal structure of that text itself. Thus to the old contention, that the style of the Ephemeris reveals Latin authorship, the critics of the new school oppose the contrary evidence of subject-matter, which, as drawn, for the most part, from Greek sources, speaks much more incontrovertibly for the Greek authorship of the Ephemeris. For it is certainly much more natural to suppose that a Latin translator found already woven into a Greek original the varied strands of Greek legend upon which he afterwards embroiders his tissue of Latin phrases than to imagine that a Latin author should have taken the pains to ransack the annals of Greek literature for those materials which were to supply, at best, merely the coarser fabric of his handiwork. As a result of these new arguments, stated most cogently and exhaustively by Perizonius in 1702, the view that the Latin Ephemeris depended upon an earlier Greek original gained for more than a century and a half the unqualified assent of critics and seemed likely to become the settled verdict of the future.

At length, however, a sudden and unexpected return by Dunger (1869), Die Sage vom troj. Kriege, pp. 17 ff., to the old view of the originality of the Ephemeris reopened the whole problem to fresh discussion, and inaugurated, at least in all that pertains to the relation between Septimius and the Byzantines, a new and more productive era in the history of the Dictys-controversy. Dunger's opinion, though stoutly assailed by Koerting (1874), Dares und Dictys, pp. 1-65; Ebert (1874), Jenaer litt. Zeitung, No. 256, and (1889) Gesch. d. lat. Litt. im Mittelalter, I, 574; Mommsen (1876), Zu Dictys, Hermes X, 383 ff.; and Wilamowitz, Hom. Untersuch. CXCI, 34, was eagerly espoused and ingeniously defended with a variety of fresh arguments by Joly (1870), Benoit de Ste. More I, 184-201; Meister (1872), ed. of Dictys, praef. pp. vii ff. (and his anonymous reviewers, Philol. Anz. V, 1873, 364 ff. and 553 ff.); Pratje (1874), Quaestiones Sallustianae; Havet (1878), Sur le date du Dictys de Sept, Revue de Phil. II, 238 ff, and (1879) Sur les préfaces du Dictys, Rev. de Phil., III, 81, ff.; Wagener

text; (2) Byzantine versions of Dictys' annals and the similar question of their relation to the Ephemeris; and (3) the internal

(1879), *Beit. zu Dares Phrygius*, Philol. XXXVIII, 108 ff., and (1880), *Zu Dictys*, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* CXXI, 509 ff.; Haupt (1881), *Dares, Malalas und Sisypchos*, Philol. XL, 107 ff., and (1884), *Zu Jordanes und Dictys*, Philol. XLIII, 546; Brunnert (1883), *Sallust und Dictys Cretensis* (and his reviewer Schmalz, 1883, *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift*, pp. 613 ff.); Greif (1885), *Die mittelalt. Bearb. d. Trojanersage*, Vorrede, pp. vii ff., and (1886) *Fortsetzung* [zu derselben], Stengel, Ausgabe u. Abhandl. LXI, pp. 173 ff.; Collilieux (1886), *Étude sur Dares et Dictys*, *passim* (and his reviewers, Dunger, 1887, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, pp. 505 ff., and Duvau, 1888, *Rev. crit.* XXV, 458 ff.); and ably reiterated and reinforced by Dunger himself in his *Dictys-Septimius*, 1878 (to the full satisfaction of his reviewers, Meister, 1878, *Litt. Centralbl.*, 648 ff.; Ludwig, 1879, *Gröber's Za. f. röm. Phil.* III, 107; Haupt, 1880, *Philol. Anz.* VI, 76 ff.; and Peiper, 1880, *Anz. f. deut. Alterth.* VI, 76 ff., who severally regard the contrary contention of Koerting, etc., as finally disposed of), and, again and lastly, by the same author, in his *De Dictye-Septimio Virgillii imitatore* (1886). These new champions of the Latin authorship of the Ephemeris, though still at one with their seventeenth century predecessors in the importance they attach to the argument drawn from stylistic imitation by Septimius of earlier Latin models, represent, in their general recognition of the clear and intimate relationship between Septimius and the Byzantine versions of Dictys, a significant advance upon their less informed precursors. The resemblance of the Byzantine annals of Dictys to Septimius is, they allege, too close (amounting at times to verbal agreement, *vid. infra*, pp. 40, 41), and their acquaintance with Latin literature in general, and with the Latin Ephemeris in particular, too well attested, alike by their use and citation of Latin words and authors (*vid. pp.* 105 ff.), and by the specific allusion of Eudokia to Septimius (*vid. p.* 24, note 2), to permit any further doubt that the Dictys to whom they refer and whose memoirs they reproduce is none other than the author whose name and annals were invented by Septimius. As regards, however, the account to be taken of various passages in which, as already stated, the Byzantine annalists vary from Septimius, and vary to the extent that they not infrequently introduce additional episodes (in particular those that rest upon the authority of Sisypchos), the critics under consideration are by no means agreed. Dunger attributes the Sisypchos and other peculiarly Byzantine additions, in part to the deliberate invention of the Byzantines, in part to the influence of current tradition; Haupt, Wagener, and Greif, to the supplementary use by the Byzantines of the forged annals of Sisypchos and other works of even more problematic existence. The weakness inherent in an attempt to explain in such diverse ways the frequent departures of the Byzantine annals from Septimius was, for a time, overborne by the numerical preponderance of its projectors, and during the eighth and ninth decades of the last century, despite an occasional expression of doubt, as in the case of Lehrs (1878), *Wissenschaft. Monatsbl.* VI, 131 ff. and of Schwabe (1890), *Teuffel's Röm. Litt. = Gesch.* II, nr. 423, it was generally conceded that the advocates of the originality of the Ephemeris had carried their case.

structure and constitution of the Latin Ephemeris itself: whether it is such as to argue for or against derivation from a Greek prototype.

It was, however, not long before a growing sense of the inadequacy of the hypothesis that the Latin Ephemeris was the primary source of the Dictys-annals of the Byzantines led, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, to a far more searching examination than had yet been made of the relation between these versions of Dictys. In the year 1892, Noack (*Der Griech. Dictys*, Philol. Suppl., VI, 403 ff.) and Patzig (*Dictys Cretensis*, Byz. Zs., I, 131 ff.) made the simultaneous discovery (through comparison with the Ekloge and Kedrenos, vid. pp. 45 ff.) that Malalas' history of the Trojan War, the earliest Byzantine version of Dictys, was, in its original form, a much longer and more elaborate text than had hitherto been supposed; indeed that it constantly surpassed the Latin Ephemeris in abundance and fulness of treatment. Hereby was conclusively demonstrated the falsity of Dunger's conclusion that Malalas derived his Dictys-records direct from Septimius. For the Malalas-text that Dunger had compared with Septimius was the much abridged version of that author contained in the Malalas-excerpt preserved in the Oxford ms. (cf. p. 45), which agreed in general with the corresponding portions of Septimius, whereas Noack and Patzig had used a more nearly complete reproduction of the original found in the excerpt Ekloge, which presents, as the true text of Malalas, a version that so frequently exceeds the corresponding portions of the Latin Ephemeris as to be altogether incapable of derivation therefrom. As the source of this original text of Malalas (as represented by Ekloge) and of the later Dictys-annals of Kedrenos, which likewise not infrequently exceed Septimius, Noack and Patzig assume an equally comprehensive Greek prototype, whence was also derived the more abridged reading in Septimius. Only thus can be explained, they claim, the excess over Septimius of the Byzantine annals of Dictys. But while Noack and Patzig are thus agreed that Malalas cannot be derived from Septimius, and is to be regarded as the derivative of a more enlarged Greek Dictys, these critics are by no means agreed as to the account to be taken of those non-Dictæan episodes in Malalas, for which, as we have seen, no parallel exists in Septimius, and which bear the name of Sisyphos. In explanation of the presence in Malalas of this Sisyphos-matter, which is strange to Kedrenos no less than to Septimius, Patzig posits as the ultimate prototype of all the existing versions of Dictys, not a Dictys, but a Sisyphos chronicle. From this Sisyphos archetype, which also contained, by way of understudy, the annals of Dictys, Patzig derives, on the one hand, the Trojan annals of Malalas (in which the records of Sisyphos and Dictys still exist in combination) and, on the other, an hypothetical Greek Dictys text (in which, as in Septimius and Kedrenos, the Sisyphos records no longer appear). In extenuation of this improbable hypothesis, Patzig pleads the fuller compass and greater apparent antiquity of Malalas (in whose annals the memoirs of Sisyphos still survive) than of Septimius and Kedrenos (in whose annals they have disappeared). Noack, on the contrary, denies altogether the existence of a Sisyphos-chronicle, and maintains that the Sisyphos-matter found in Malalas is to be looked upon merely as a later addition, afterwards grafted upon the Dictys-chronicle, which he assumes to be the ultimate source of all the later annals of Dictys. However, notwithstanding their difference of opinion with

(1). BYZANTINE REFERENCES TO DICTYS.

The earliest allusions to Dictys, save those contained in the Latin *Ephemeris*, are made by certain early Byzantine writers, who lived during a period (sixth to eleventh centuries) subsequent to the date of the composition of the Latin text (fourth century). These Byzantine writers are Joannes Malalas (sixth century), and his two excerptors, Isaak Porphyrogenitos (eleventh century) and Joannes Tzetzes¹ (twelfth century), Joannes Antiochenos (seventh

regard to the origin of Malalas' Sisyphos-material, Noack and Patzig agree fundamentally in their main thesis, viz. that a Greek text lay at the basis of the Latin *Ephemeris*. From their joint conclusion but one voice of dissent has thus far been heard. Greif, who, as we have already seen, appeared in 1885 in opposition to the theory of a Greek Dictys, has, in the latest contribution to the Dictys controversy (*Neue Untersuch. zur Dictys- u. Daresfrage*, Berlin, 1900), and as though to demonstrate the futility of all hope that this much vexed question will ever be settled to the full satisfaction of all, again stepped forth with a futile attempt to prove that Septimius is alone responsible for the Dictys-annals of the Byzantines. According to Greif, there existed from the outset, as the ultimate source of the Byzantine versions of Dictys, but one chronicle, namely, a Sisyphos-chronicle. This Sisyphos-chronicle, in which Teucer and his scribe Sisyphos figure as the chief centre of interest (vid. pp. 60 ff.), contained no Dictys-elements whatsoever, and long remained without rival as the only true and representative version of pre-Homeric annals of the Trojan War. At length, however, a malicious imposter (einer böse Mensch), Septimius, conceived the possibility of creating, in imitation of Sisyphos, a replica of that chronicle, in which Idomeneus and his scribe Dictys should act as protagonists. Finally, so unexpectedly successful was this attempt that, with the single exception of Malalas, who devotes a few pages to Sisyphos, all the subsequent Byzantine annalists of the Trojan War chose Septimius rather than Sisyphos as their guide. This extraordinary theory merits no particular refutation. We shall endeavor to point out, in what follows, that not the chronicle of Sisyphos but of Dictys stands as the primal fountain head of all subsequent versions of Dictys, and that this Dictys chronicle was not the creation of Septimius, but of an earlier Greek author, who, though naturally indebted to earlier Greek authors for his materials, was himself the sole creator of the fiction that bears his name.

¹ As excerptors of Malalas, from whom they derive their Dictys-citations, Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes are naturally not entitled to separate consideration as giving independent reference to Dictys (vid. p. 35, note 1). Nevertheless, inasmuch as these two authors not infrequently supply in their corresponding citations fuller particulars with regard to Dictys than occur in the abridged text of the Oxford Malalas (particulars which may, therefore, be regarded as having stood, in part or in whole, in the original text of that author, vid. p. 29, note 3), we shall frequently quote in connection with the Dictys-references of Malalas the further particulars found in these versions.

century), Archbishop Arethas (tenth century), and Georgias Kedrenos (eleventh century). Upon the character of these several Dictys-citations—all made independently of one another¹—and upon the nature of their relation to the Dictys-citations in the Latin Ephemeris, will obviously depend the determination of the question whether the Byzantines derived their knowledge of Dictys from the Latin text of Septimius or from an earlier Greek Dictys. Excluding, therefore, as irrelevant to our inquiry, a further list of late Byzantine references to Dictys, which are now known to be derived either from Septimius² (i. e. the Latin Ephemeris) or from

¹ As will appear not only from numerous differences in the terms in which these writers refer to Dictys (vid. pp. 29 ff.) but, more particularly, from our consideration of the relation which the Dictys-annals of these writers sustain to one another (vid. pp. 34 ff.).

² Thus from the Latin Ephemeris are to be derived three late Dictys citations, formerly believed to be early and consequently adduced, by Joly, Dunger, and others, as affording direct evidence that the Latin text of Septimius was the only version of Dictys known to the Byzantine writers under consideration. Of these three Dictys-citations, two, which contain, the one, an allusion to the Ephemeris and to Cadmos (cf. Eph., prol. and V, 17): ἡ γοῦν κατὰ Κάδμον καὶ Δαναὸν γμματική ἐπὶ τε τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ἡσκέετο, ὡς Δίκτυς ἐν ταῖς Ἐφημερίσι φησί, and the other to Septimius: εὐρηγο γεγραμμένον βιβλίον γράμμασι Φοινίκων, καὶ μεθερμηνεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ γλώττῃ, πεμφθὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὗ τῷ προστάγματι Σεπτημίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ, σοφὸς ἑκατέραν τὴν γλώτταν, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν φωνὴν μετέηκεν, were formerly ascribed, the former to Syrianos (fifth century) and the latter to Eudokia (eleventh century), and consequently adduced, the first by Mercerus, Opera III, 1274, Florence, (1744), Joly, op. cit. (1870) I, 178, Dunger, op. cit. (1878), p. 8, and Greif (Neue Untersuch. zur Dictys- u. Daresfrage, 1900, p. 16), and the second by Joly, I, 196, and Dunger, p. 11, as affording direct evidence that the Latin Ephemeris (to which they allude) was the sole source of all Byzantine allusions to Dictys. That these adductions were incorrect, is now shown by the fact that neither reference is genuine; the reference ascribed to Syrianos, and printed by C. Walz in his edition of Syrianos (Orig. in Hermog., cap. 17, in Rhet. Græc., IV, 43), being the late interpolation in the faulty text of Syrianos printed by Walz of a Dictys-reference in place of a quite different reference to Περθεός, which now stands in the true text of Syrianos, printed from a Venetian ms. by Rabe in his Teubner edition of Syrianos (1893), II, 7 (cf. Collilieux, op. cit. p. 56), and the reference attributed to Eudokia, and found in the edition of the Violarium printed by Flach (Teubner, Leipzig, 1880, p. 221, 13 ff.), being shown by Pulch (De Eudociæ quod fertur Violarium, 1880, pp. 54–58) to be a late interpolation by an unknown hand of a Dictys-reference (derived from Septimius) by Michael Suliardus (fifteenth century). Equally without value by reason of its presumably late date, is a third Dictys-reference which contains an allusion to Cadmos (cf. Eph., prol. and

Malalas,¹ and can, therefore, no longer be adduced² as furnishing additional indication of the source from which the Byzantines derived their knowledge of Dictys, let us limit our attention to a comparison with Septimius of the mutually independent citations offered by the Byzantine writers above mentioned.

All save one of these citations—that, namely, by Arethas—are, as in the Ephemeris, embedded in actual annals of the Trojan War. Since, as will shortly appear, more certain conclusions can

V, 17), and to the rhetorical activity of Palamedes (cf. Eph., I, 5, 6): *καὶ γὰρ Δίκτυς . . . συγγράψας Φοινίκων γράμμασιν, οἷς Ἕλληνες τότε ἀπὸ Κάδμου μαθόντες ἐχρῶντο, δῆλός ἐστιν εἶδέναι τέχνην ῥητορικὴν. δηματοροῦντας γὰρ εἰσάγει τοὺς ἥρωας, Παλαμήδην ἐκεῖνον καὶ Ὀδυσσεά, κτλ.* This Dictys-reference, quoted from the work of an anonymous rhetorician by Allatius (op. cit., p. 1745), and adduced by Dunger (op. cit., 1878, p. 10) and Greif (op. cit., 1900, p. 17) as again attesting early Byzantine acquaintance with the Latin Ephemeris, is clearly shown by its allusion to the alphabet of Cadmos, found also in the Dictys-reference in the corrupt text of Syrianos, to be, like the latter, a late extract from the Ephemeris, made at a period in which mss. of the Latin text had come to enjoy abundant circulation.

¹ From Malalas are ultimately derived, three later Byzantine citations which repeat Malalas' incorrect reading *Claudius* in place of the *Nero* of the Ephemeris (vid. p. 26, note 2). Thus from Malalas is derived, through the medium of the Onomatologos of Hesychius Milesius (seventh century), (1) an allusion to Dictys by Suidas (eleventh century), in his Lexicon (sub *Δίκτυς*): *Δίκτυς · ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθείσης, καὶ πολλῶν τάφων ἀνεωχθέντων, εὐρέθῃ ἐν ἐνὶ τούτων τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς Ἱστορίας Δίκτυος . . . ὅπερ λαβὼν Κλαύδιος ἐξέδωκε γράφειν* (cf. Mal., p. 250, 2 ff., quoted p. 4), and (2) an exact repetition of the same allusion, quoted from Suidas by Zonaras (twelfth century) in his Lexicon (ed. Tittmann, I, 507). Ultimately from Malalas (and, possibly, through Tzetzes, vid. p. 30, note 1) comes (3) an allusion to Dictys by an anonymous chronographer, quoted by Allatius (op. cit., p. 1743): *Ὁμηρος συγγραφήν εὐρὼν Σισύφου τοῦ Κῶου τὰ ἐς τὴν Τροίαν ἅπαντα συλλαμβάνουσαν συμπαρόντος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐξέθετο τὴν Ἰλιάδα. ὡσαύτως καὶ Βιργίλιος τὰ λοιπὰ. ἅτινα καὶ ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις Δίκτυος φέρεται, ὅπερ πόνημα ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου καὶ Νέρωνος εὐρέθῃ ἐν κασιτερίνῳ κιβωτίῳ.* (cf. the similar allusions to Sisyphe by Tzetzes, infra p. 30, note 2, and to Claudius by Malalas, p. 250, 2 ff.).

² The earlier attempts of Joly (op. cit. I, 178, 196), Dunger (op. cit., pp. 8, 10, 11), and Greif (op. cit., 1900, pp. 16, 17) to discern in the allusions to the Latin Ephemeris in the old texts of Syrianos (fifth century) and Eudokia (eleventh century) evidence of an early Byzantine acquaintance with the Latin text have, as we have seen, met complete refutation in the recent discovery that both these allusions are the spurious interpolations of a much later period and written at a time subsequent to the general diffusion of mss. of the Latin Dictys (vid. supra, p. 24, note 3).

be drawn from citations thus embodied in Dictys-annals than from Arethas' citation, which stands alone (in his Scholia to Dio Chrysostomos), it will be best to defer our quotation of the isolated reference by Arethas until we have first quoted the references contained in Dictys-annals. Otherwise, we shall quote the above-mentioned Dictys-references in regular chronological order, as follows : Malalas, John of Antioch, Kedrenos, and Arethas.

(1) Malalas cites Dictys six times in his *Χρονογραφία*.¹ Only two of his citations need concern us at present ; they run as follows.

(a). Καθὼς ὁ σοφώτατος Δίκτυς ὁ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης ὑπεμνημάτισε μετὰ ἀληθείας τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰλιον ἐπιστρατευσάντων Ἑλλήνων. ἦν γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως τοῦ προμάχου τῶν Δαναῶν τοῦ κατελθόντος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀχαιοῖς· συγγραφεὺς γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως ἐτύχχανεν ὁ αὐτὸς Δίκτυς καὶ ἑωρακὼς ἀκριβῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ συγγραψάμενος, ὥς παρὼν τότε ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἐκείνοις μετὰ Ἑλλήνων. ὅστις ἐξέθετο καὶ τοὺς προτραπέντας ὑπὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου βασιλέων καὶ τοὺς ὀπλισαμένους καὶ κατελθόντας μετὰ τοῦ στόλου ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰλιον, ἕκαστον ἔχοντα ἴδιον στρατὸν καὶ ναῦς. (Ed. Dindorf, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., p. 107, 1–11). Cf. the similar relation of Dictys to Idomeneus in the Eph., Prol., Epis., and lib. I, cap. 13 (where Dictys is enrolled among the Greek leaders).

(b). Τῷ δὲ ἰὺ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλαυδίου² Καίσαρος

¹ Ed. Dindorf in Niebuhr, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., Bonn (1831), pp. 90, 1–142, 20. The six Dictys-citations occur as follows : pp. 107, ll. 1 ff. ; 119, 22 ff. ; 122, 1 ff. ; 132, 22 ff. ; 135, 16 ff. ; 250, 2 ff. We shall, moreover, for reasons already stated (p. 23, note 1), have occasion to quote, in explanation of Malalas' Dictys-citations, citations by his two exceptors, Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes. Isaak Porphyrogenitos cites Dictys once in his *Περὶ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου* (ed. Hinck, Ptolemonis Declamationes, Teubner, 1873, p. 87) ; Tzetzes, in at least three separate works, viz. : (1) in his *Chiliades* V, 30 (ed. Kiessling, Leipsic, 1826, p. 189) ; (2) in his *Scholia* to *Lykophron* V, 61 (ed. C. Muller, Leipsic, 1811, I, 357 ; and (3) in his *Exegesis* in *Iliadem* (ed. Hermann, Leipsic, 1812, pp. 20, ll. 18 ff.).

² Malalas' reading *Claudius* in place of *Nero* (repeated, as we have seen, by *Suidas*, *Zonaras*, and the anonymous *chronographer*) is not to be regarded as an indication that *Claudius* was the reading of the Greek *Dictys*, but, as *Greif* has pointed out (op. cit., 1900, pp. 16, 17), as an error on the part of *Malalas*, who in the

ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας ἡ Κρήτη νήσος πᾶσα· ἐν οἷς χρόνοις ἡρέθη ἐν τῷ μνήματι τοῦ Δίκτυος ἐν κασσιτερίνῳ κιβωτίῳ ἡ ἔκθεσις τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου μετὰ ἀληθείας παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγραφείσα πᾶσα. ἐκεῖτο δὲ προσκέφαλα τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ Δίκτυος· καὶ νομίσαντες τὸ αὐτὸ κιβώτιον θησαυρὸν εἶναι προσήνεγκαν αὐτὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κλανδίῳ· καὶ ἐκέλευσε μετὰ τὸ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ γνῶναι τί ἐστὶ μεταγραφῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ βιβλιοθήκῃ ἀποτεθῆναι αὐτά (p. 250, 1-9). Cf. the story of the discovery of Dictys' annals as given in the Eph., Prol. and Epis.

(2). John of Antioch cites Dictys four times in his *Ἱστορία χρονικῇ*.¹ But two of his citations need concern us. They run as follows:

(a). Καὶ συνήγαγον βασιλεῖς καὶ τοπάρχας, καθὼς φησιν Ὅμηρος καὶ Δίκτυς (Ed. Mueller, *Frag. Hist. Graec. frag.* 23.). Cf. Eph. I, 13 (list of Greek leaders, including Dictys) and I, 17 (ship-catalogue).

(b). Δίκτυς ὁ μετὰ Ἰδομενέως συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τροίαν φησὶν ὅτι Πρίαμος ἔπεμψε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδ πρεσβεῖαν, καὶ πρὸς Ταυτάνην βασιλέα Ἀσσυρίων· καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαυίδ οὐ προσήκατο ταύτην, ὁ δὲ Ταυτάνης ἔπεμψε τὸν Τιθωνὸν καὶ τὸν Μέμνονα μετὰ πλήθους Ἰνδῶν (Ed. Mueller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, p. 550, frag. 24, 3.). No parallel in the Latin Ephemeris.²

present passage (which occurs in his history of the Roman emperors) forgets that in his history of the Trojan War he had already correctly written ἐπὶ Κλανδίου Νέρωνος βασιλέως (p. 133, 2.), and, with Claudius merely in mind, enters the present citation under the reign of that emperor instead of his step-son Nero. Confirmation of this conjecture is found by Greif (1) in the Malalas-excerpt Ekloge (ed. Cramer, *Anecd. Græc.*, II, 166 ff.; vid. p. 46), where we find in the corresponding passage (p. 221, 20.) the ambiguous reading: ἐπὶ Κλανδίου καὶ Νέρωνος and (2) in an equally equivocal: ἐπὶ Κλανδίου, οἱ δὲ [φασὶν] ἐπὶ Νέρωνος in Eudokia's *Violarium* (ed. Flack, p. 222, l. 6).

¹ Preserved in three fragments: (1) the Constantine fragments, ed. C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.* (1851), IV, 550, fr. 23; (2) idem. fr. 24; and (3) in the fragments ed. H. Heinrich, *Die Chronik des Johannes von Sikeliota*, Graz, 1892, pp. 8-10 (cf., *infra*, p. 83). For the occurrence of these citations vid. *tab. pp.* 38, 39.

² An allusion to King David is, naturally, not to be looked for in the annals of Dictys and is, in the present unique instance, undoubtedly a late Christian addition by the author of this excerpt. The allusion to King Tautanes, on the other hand, though found in no other Dictys-version, no doubt stood in the original Dictys, as evidenced by the rôle played by Memnon and his Indians in Septimius, Malalas, Kedrenos, etc. (vid. p. 87, note 1).

(3). Georgias Kedrenos refers to Dictys once in his *Σύνοψις ιστοριῶν*¹ as follows :

Ἰδομενέως τοῦ προμάχου των Ἑλλήνων ὑπογραφεὺς ἦν ὁ Δίκτυς, ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος καὶ συνετός, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἰλίου ἦκουσι συνεστρατεύετο. οὗτος τὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον πάντα συνὼν τῷ Ἰδομενεί τὰ παρακολουθήσαντα πάντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους μετὰ ἀληθείας συνέγραψε, καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας τῶν προμάχων, ὡς πάντας ἑωρακώς, ὑπέγραψε καὶ ἀκριβῶς ὑπεμνημάτισε. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους καὶ τόπους καὶ τρόπους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου διασαφῶν, μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἱστοριογραφῶν, καὶ καθ' ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων μεθ' ὧν νηῶν παρεγένετο συνέταξε. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ῥαψῳδίᾳ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δηλοῦται (Ed. Bekker, op. cit., p. 223, 4-14.). Cf. Eph., Prol., Epis., and I, 17 (ship-catalogue).

Finally, Archbishop Arethas cites Dictys in his Scholia to Dio Chrysostomos² as follows :

Ποιητὴς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ τούτων πρὸ Ὀμήρου ὑμεμνημένος. Δίκτυς δὲ ὄνομα Κρής ὃς παρατυχὼν τῷ Τρωικῷ πολέμῳ γράφει τε τὰ πραχθέντα ἐκεῖ χαλκείῳ πίναξιν καὶ ἐαυτῷ συνθάπτει· οἱ καὶ εὐρέθησαν χρόνῳ μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, ἐξ ὧν (!) καὶ βιβλίοις κατετέθησαν συμφώνοις κατὰ πάντα Ὀμήρῳ (cf., again, the story of the discovery of Dictys' annals in the Ephemeris, Prol. and Epis.).

From the general agreement between the foregoing Byzantine allusions to Dictys and the allusions in the Ephemeris (Prol. Epis., and I, 13), it is clear that the Byzantine writers are here referring to the same Dictys to whom reference is made in the Latin text of Septimius.³ For this reason the advocates of the originality of the Ephemeris have concluded that no earlier Greek version of these annals existed, and that the Byzantine writers in

¹ Ed. Bekker in Niebuhr, op. cit., Bonn, 1838, I, 216, 13-238, 13.

² Orat. XI, § 92, quotes Sonny, Dictys bei Arethas, Byz. Zs., I, 590, from Cobet's ed. of Chrysostomos, p. 788.

³ This fact, apparently so obvious, was, as we have already seen (p. 18, n. 3), not recognized by the early Dictys-commentators, Mercerus and Dacier, who, for the reason already indicated, believed that the Byzantines followed a Dictys-tradition distinct from that represented in the Latin Ephemeris.

question derived their Dictys-citations, either directly or indirectly, from the Latin Ephemeris.¹ That such, however, was not the case and that the general parallelism between the Latin and Greek (Byzantine) references is due, not to the derivation of the latter from the former, but to the independent use by each of a common Greek original, is shown by the following points of difference between the particulars which Septimius and the Byzantine authors report of their Dictys.

In the first place, Kedrenos (loc. sup. cit.) and Malalas (as appears from his excerptors Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes) report that Dictys gave a personal description of the Greek and Trojan leaders.² This feature is neither reproduced in the Ephemeris nor anywhere alluded to by Septimius, but occurs in the so-called "portrait-lists" in Malalas, ed. Dindorf, p. 103 ll. 11 ff. (and in his excerptors, Isaak, *Περὶ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου*, ed. Hinck, pp. 80–87, and Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, ed. Bekker, 1816, vs. 361–368; 470; 651–675), and in a clearly pronounced portrait of Helen in Kedrenos,³ (ed. Bekker, p. 217, 19–21), and may accordingly be supposed to have occupied a prominent place in the Greek Dictys-text consulted by the Byzantines (vid., infra, pp. 51 ff.).

¹ So Joly (1870), op. cit. I, 178, 196; Dunger (1878), op. cit., pp. 8–15; Greif (1900), op. cit. pp. 15–23.

² That an allusion to the so-called "portraits," as one of the special attractions of Dictys' history, originally stood in Malalas' Dictys-citation, as it now stands in Kedrenos', is rendered probable by the concurrent allusion to this feature by Malalas' two excerptors, Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes (vid. p. 23, n. 1). Thus at the opening of Isaak's only Dictys-citation (which otherwise exactly corresponds to Malalas' first Dictys-citation, p. 107, 1–11) stand the words: *ὁ σοφώτατος ἐκεῖνος Δίκτυς ὑπεμνημάτισεν . . . οὐ μὴν μόνον ταῦτα τὰ ἰδιώματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ γεγονότα, κτλ.* (ed. Hinck, op. cit. p. 87). Similarly Tzetzes writes thus in his Exegesis in Iliadem (ed. Hermann, p. 20, ll. 23 ff.): *ὁ δὲ Δίκτυς ἦν Κρήσι, συνεστράτευσε δὲ τῷ Ἰδομενεῖ. οἷτινες τὰ τε εἶδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν κτλ.* Moreover, it is clear from the evident reference of the term *τὰ προγεγραμμένα* (107, 2), in Malalas' Dictys-citation, to the portrait-lists that precede (103, 11 ff.), that Malalas, no less than Kedrenos, found a list of portraits in the Greek Dictys he consulted.

³ The absence in Kedrenos of all portraits save one, Helen, is, as we shall see (infra, pp. 90 ff.), but one of a number of indications that Kedrenos did not derive his Dictys-annals from Malalas.

In the second place, Dictys, whose name invariably stands alone in the references by Septimius, is by the Byzantines repeatedly cited in immediate connection with other authors, and authors, furthermore, who are, without exception, Greek. Thus Malalas twice introduces in immediate association with Dictys a previously unknown Sisyphe of Cos,¹ once as a joint authority with Dictys for an account of Circe: *περὶ ἧς Κίρκης ἐξέθεντο ταῦτα οἱ σοφώτατοι Σίσυφος Κῶος καὶ Δίκτης ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης* (p. 119, l. 22), and once as a concomitant authority (with Dictys) for the record of Trojan events related in the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhus (p. 132, 19 ff.)—an episode which, like the Portraits, is entirely lacking in Septimius (vid. pp. 60 ff.). In like manner, Malalas cites, still in conjunction with Dictys, a second fabulous author of early Trojan records, viz., a previously unknown Pheidaios of Corinth, as a still further authority for the above mentioned account of Circe: *ὁ δὲ σοφὸς Φειδαλῖος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐξέθετο τὴν ποιητικὴν ταύτην σύνταξιν, ἐρμηνεύσας οὕτως* (p. 120, l. 4). Finally, all the above mentioned annalists of Dictys cite Dictys in immediate juxtaposition with Homer. Malalas states that Homer fabled in what he said with regard to Circe: *ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Ὅμηρος ποιητικῶς ἔφησεν ὅτι διὰ πόματος μαγικοῦ κτλ.* (p.

¹ Similarly Tzetzes, in evident imitation of Malalas, whom he cites, makes consecutive allusions to Sisyphe and Dictys: (1) in his *Chiliades*, V, 829 ff. (ed. Kiessling, p. 189).

Σίσυφον Κῶον λέγουσι τοῦ Τεύκρου γραμματέα,
καὶ πρὸ Ὁμήρου γράψαι δὲ τοῦτον τὴν Ἰλιάδα
Τεύκρῳ συνεκστρατεύσαντα καὶ καθορῶντα πάντα·
Ἄφ' οὗ πρὸς πλάτος ὕστερον Ὅμηρον μεταφράσαι.
Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰωάννης τις Μελέτης χρονογράφος.

Οὗτος ὁ χρονικὸς (sc. Μαλάλας) φησι καὶ Δίκτην δὲ τὸν Κρήτα
Ἰδομενέει ἐπεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς μάχης γράψαι·
Ἐξ ὧν, ὡς ἔφη, ὕστερον Ὅμηρον μεταφράσαι.

and (2) in his *Exegesis in Iliadem* (ed. Hermann, p. 20, ll. 18 ff.): *ἕτεροι δὲ τῶν ἱστορικῶν* [i. e., in addition to Philostratos, etc.] *ἐκ τῆς Σίσυφου καὶ τῆς τοῦ Δίκτης συγγραφῆς* ["Ὅμηρον"] *ἐφευρηκέναι καὶ ἐκθέσθαι φασίν*. Likewise the anonymous chronographer cited by Allatius (loc. cit., infra p. 25, note 1) alludes, in his Dictys-citation, to Sisyphe, whom he states to have been a main source of Homer and Virgil.

119, 23 ff.). John of Antioch cites Homer as joint authority with Dictys for the marshalling of the Greek host: *καὶ συνήγαγον βασιλεῖς καὶ τοπάρχας, καθὼς φησιν Ὅμηρος καὶ Δίκτυς* (loc. cit.). And Kedrenos refers to Homer's giving *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ῥαψωδίᾳ* (loc. sup. cit.) the Ship-catalogue in Dictys.¹

In the third place, it is to be noted that the Byzantines regularly introduce their main Dictys-citation, not—as in the Ephemeris—in a preface, but in the main body of their annals, and invariably in the same place, viz. immediately between the list of Portraits and the Ship-catalogue (vid. tab., pp. 38, 39). Here, for example, stands the main Dictys-citation in Malalas (p. 107, 1–11) and his excerptor Isaak Porphyrogenitos,² and in an exactly corresponding position (p. 203, 4–14) occurs the only Dictys-citation in Kedrenos, viz. between the Death of Polydorus³ (222, 24–233, 4) and an allusion to the Ship-catalogue³ at the end of his Dictys-citation (*καθ' ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων μεθ' ὅσων νήσων παρεγένετο συνέταξε*, p. 223, 12–13). That, finally, this Dictys-citation occupied an exactly identical position in John of Antioch may be inferred from the

¹ That an allusion to Dictys as a chief source of Homer stood also in the original text of Malalas may be inferred both from Tzetzes (loc. cit., p. 30, note 1) and from Malalas' allusion to Sisyphos in the same capacity: *ἦντινα συγγραφήν εὐρηκὼς Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἐξέθετο, καὶ Βεργίλλιος τὰ λοιπὰ* (132, 20–22).

² Tzetzes in the annals of Dictys contained in his Antehomerica, Homerica, and Posthomerica follows the order of Malalas' history of the Trojan War less closely than Isaak Porphyrogenitos had done. But that he, too, recognized an essential connection between Malalas' citation of Dictys and the Portraits, on the one hand, and the Ship-catalogue, on the other, is evident from the allusion to both features in the Dictys-citation found in his Exegesis in Iliadem: *οἵτινες* [sc. *Σίσυφος καὶ Δίκτυς*] *τά τε εἶδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν πλοίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . μετὰ ἀκριβείας συνεγράψαντο* (ed. Hermann, p. 22, ll. 24 ff.).

³ Kedrenos omits both the Portraits and the Ship-catalogue. But that he found the Dictys-citation of his Greek source in a position exactly corresponding to that which it occupies in Malalas is clear from its position immediately between the Death of Polydorus, an episode that immediately precedes the Portraits in Malalas, and an allusion to the Ship-catalogue at the end of his Dictys-citation. That Kedrenos is here following the same ultimate Dictys-prototype as Malalas is further evident not only from an exact verbal agreement between the account of the Death of Polydorus in the two authors, but also from the fact that Kedrenos introduces, immediately before the Death of Polydorus, a description of the Discoveries of Palamedes which exactly corresponds to the same description in Malalas' list of Portraits (vid. p. 42, note 1).

words of the excerpt: *καὶ συνήγαγον βασιλεῖς καὶ τοπάρχας, καθὼς φησιν Ὅμηρος καὶ Δίκτης* (loc. cit.). Such being the normal position of the chief Dictys-citation in those portions of the Dictys-annals of the Byzantines that survive, such, we may suppose, was also its position in the Greek Dictys-text which they consulted.

It is, in the fourth place, a significant fact that no one of the Byzantine writers under consideration either mentions by name the Ephemeris,¹ or Septimius,² or makes any other allusion that could be construed as an indication of Byzantine acquaintance with the Latin text. On the contrary, they allude merely and invariably to "the most wise Dictys" (*ὁ σοφώτατος Δίκτης*), the companion and scribe (*ὑπογραφεὺς*) of Idomeneus, and author of contemporary annals of the Trojan War, without ever a word of a Latin Dictys, or the slightest intimation that the only version known to them was that of which Septimius claimed to be the translator.³

Finally, Arethas and Malalas' excerptor, Isaak Porphyrogenitos, state that Dictys wrote his annals not, as specified in the Ephemeris, upon linden bark (prol. *in tiliis*: epis. *ex philyra*), but upon brazen tablets (Arethas, *χαλκοῖς πίναξι*: Isaak, *τῷ πίνακι*, p. 85, 1). Here it is probable that the mention of the more durable material, found in Arethas and Isaak, but

¹The allusions to the Ephemeris printed in the old texts of Syrianos and Eudokia, and formerly adduced as conclusive evidence that these writers knew the Latin Ephemeris, are, as we have seen (p. 24, note 3), not genuine, but late interpolations, copied from the Ephemeris at a period when *mss.* of that text were common.

²The allusion to Septimius formerly ascribed to Eudokia is, for the same reason, incapable of furnishing evidence of early Byzantine acquaintance with the annals of that author (*vid.* preceding note).

³Dunger (op. cit., 1878, p. 15) and Greif (op. cit., 1900, p. 8) account for the silence of the Byzantines on the subject of a Latin Dictys on the theory that an acknowledgment of their indebtedness to Septimius would have cast doubts upon the authenticity of Trojan records derived from a late Latin author. But in case, as these critics maintain, no Greek Dictys existed, it is not easy to see how a repetition by the Byzantines of Septimius' claim to translation from the Greek could have greatly impaired their own unsubstantiated assertions of the existence of so ancient an author.

omitted in the other Byzantine references, represents the reading of the original Greek Dictys.¹

From the foregoing points of difference between the Dictys citations by Septimius and the Byzantines it appears that the Byzantines derived their knowledge of Dictys, not from the Ephemeris, but from an earlier Greek text, which contained (1) a list of Greek and Trojan Portraits, (2) references not to Dictys only, but also to other real or imaginary authors of early Greek histories of Troy, (3) a principal Dictys-citation between the list of Portraits and the Ship-catalogue, and (4) a reference to some form of metallic tablet as the writing material used by Dictys to insure the permanent preservation of his records.²

¹ Patzig, in a communication to Sonny (Byz. Zs. I, 590) offers the valuable suggestion that the *tilias* of the Dictys-prologue may be the corruption of an earlier *tabulas*. This conjecture not only removes the awkwardness of supposing that Dictys would have been so heedless of posterity as to consign his precious records to the dampness of the tomb upon such perishable material as linden bark but has also the mechanical advantage of interpreting the shorter word (*tilias*) as a corruption of the longer (*tabulas*), rather than the reverse.

² It cannot have escaped notice that the Byzantine writers under consideration frequently differ among themselves in the particulars they report of Dictys. Thus, Arethas and Isaak alone refer to brazen tablets; the author of the Salmasian fragment fails to refer in his Dictys-citation either to the portraits or to the Ship-catalogue; no Byzantine writer save Malalas cites Sisyphos in immediate connection with Dictys; and Kedrenos, while referring to the portraits in his Dictys-citation, with one exception omits this feature in his annals of Dictys. That authors who allude to Dictys in terms so diverse should have all derived their Dictys-citations from a single source, viz., the Latin Ephemeris, is not, a priori, probable. Derivation from so late a source, in particular, would lead us to expect greater uniformity in the reproduction of particulars so derived. The diversity that we find in this regard bespeaks, rather, derivation from a more remote prototype, which had, in the meantime, undergone a series of modifications or recensions and had thus come to lie before the various independent Byzantine citators of Dictys in many variant versions. To such a conclusion we shall be further led in our consideration of the very substantial differences that exist between the various Byzantine annals of Dictys.

(2) BYZANTINE VERSIONS OF DICTYS.

The Byzantines as a Group.

We have already found in the frequent lack of correspondence between the Dictys-references of Septimius and of the Byzantines reason to believe that the Byzantines derived their knowledge of Dictys, not from the Latin Ephemeris, but from an earlier version of Dictys written in Greek. This belief becomes further strengthened when we pass to a consideration of the Byzantine versions of Dictys-annals and to the relation that they sustain to the Latin text of Septimius.

The Byzantine versions of Dictys which we shall compare with Septimius include, primarily, the three important versions by Joannes Malalas (sixth century), Joannes Antiochenos (seventh century), and Georgias Kedrenos (eleventh century), and, secondarily, scattered excerpts from these versions, contained in a variety of Byzantine excerpt-collections, shortly to be enumerated.¹

The earliest² and most comprehensive of these versions is that introduced by Joannes Malalas (sixth century) in the fifth book of his *Χρονογραφία* (ed. Dindorf, in Niebuhr, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., 1831, pp. 92, 1-142, 20).³ Malalas' version of Dictys opens with

¹ Cf., also, excerpts mentioned, pp. 99 ff.

² The attempt of Sotiriadis (Fleckeisen's Jahrb. Supplement, XVI, 1888, 72 ff.) to show that John of Antioch preceded Malalas has been successfully repudiated by Patzig (Unerkannt u. unbekannt gebliebene Malalas-fragmente, 1891, pp. 1-4, 25; Joannes Malalas u. Joannes Antiochenus, 1892, p. 1), who finds in the last of four Malalas-excerpts printed by Mai (De fragmentis historicis Tuscul., 1842) chronological references that prove beyond a doubt that the reverse is the true relation, and that Malalas wrote in the sixth, and John of Antioch in the seventh century. Hence no doubt can longer remain that we have in Malalas the earliest Byzantine version of Dictys (cf. Noack, p. 479).

³ The *Χρονογραφία*, in eighteen books, opens with the Creation and extends somewhat beyond the death of Justinian (ob. 565). The first seventeen books, which end with the year 528, were issued by Malalas before the year 540; the eighteenth book, of which only that portion which extends to the ninth year of Justin II (573) can, with safety, be attributed to Malalas, the remainder, in which the scene is shifted from Antioch to Constantinople, being in all probability the work of a second hand, was issued subsequent to the year 573 (cf. Patzig, Jo. Malalas u. Jo. Antiochenus, Leipsic, 1892, pp. 27 ff.).

the Youth of Paris and ends with the Adventures of Orestes. By reason alike of its date, its length, and its importance as a source of the later versions of Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes,¹ the Dictys-annals of Malalas stand forth as, in many respects, the most representative Byzantine version of Dictys and form, accordingly, the natural starting-point of comparison with Septimius. The original text of Malalas' *Χρονογραφία* is lost, but the fifth book, sc. the history of Dictys, may be approximately recon-

¹ From Malalas, as we have already seen (p. 23, note 1), were derived the Dictys-materials introduced by Isaak Porphyrogenitos (eleventh century) in his *Περὶ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου* and by Joannes Tzetzes (twelfth century) in his *Antehomerica*, *Homeric*, and *Posthomeric* (cf. Wagener, *Philol.* XXXVIII, 105 ff.; Greif, *Mittelalt. Bearb. d. Trojanersage*, in Stengel, *Ausg. u. Abhandl.* LXI, 257 ff.; and Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 235). The dependence of Isaak Porphyrogenitos upon Malalas has never been called in question. Isaak nowhere cites Malalas, but the close verbal agreement between the lists of portraits (Isaak, pp. 85-87; Malalas, pp. 103-107) and the Dictys-citations (Isaak, pp. 87-88; Malalas, p. 107) in both leaves no doubt that it was from Malalas that Isaak derived his history of the Trojan War. Tzetzes, however, has been thought by Haupt (*Philol. Anzeiger*, X, 1880, p. 542) and Patzig (*Joannes Malalas u. Jo. Antiochenus*, 1892, p. 17; *Byz. Zs.* I, 1892, p. 139) to have derived his Dictys-materials, not from Malalas, but from John of Antioch. Thus Patzig (*Jo. Malalas u. Jo. Antiochenus*, p. 17) attempts to show that the author whom Tzetzes cites under the ambiguous designations, *Ἰωάννης (ὁ) Ἀντιοχεύς* (Exeg. in II., 132, 22) and *Ἰωάννης χρονικός* (*Chil.* VI, 833), is John of Antioch rather than Malalas. In support of his contention, Patzig adduces (1) Tzetzes' frequent and explicit references to John of Antioch either under the appellation *Ἰωάννης (ὁ) Ἀντιοχεύς*, *Ἰωάννης χρονικός*, or *ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς* (*Chil.* I, 318) as against a single explicit reference to Malalas (*Ἰωάννης τις Μελέης, χρονογράφος*, *Chil.* V, 833), and (2) the contradiction between the statement for which Tzetzes, in this sole instance, makes Malalas responsible, viz., that Homer drew the materials of his *Iliad* from Dictys (*Chil.* V, 836), and the report of Malalas (p. 132, 20) that Dictys was not discovered until long after the time of Homer and Virgil. But that Patzig is here in error is shown by the fact that the discrepancy he alleges disappears when we reflect that Malalas is here referring not, as Tzetzes, to the time of composition, but only of the subsequent discovery of Dictys. Moreover, we have already found reason to believe that there existed in the original Malalas, no less than in Tzetzes, an allusion to Dictys as well as to Sisyphos, as a joint source of Homer and Virgil (cf. p. 31, note 1). We may, accordingly, suppose that it was Malalas, whom he expressly cites, and not John of Antioch, from whose work no reference to Dictys (or Sisyphos) as a source of Homer survives, that Tzetzes used as the chief, if not the only source of his annals of Troy. Further corroboration of this supposition is to be found in his reproduction (in various portions of his *Posthomeric*) of Malalas' list of portraits (*vid.* p. 29), a feature entirely lacking in Antioch.

structed by means of two transcripts. These two transcripts differ greatly in fulness: the more reduced, which presents an abridged reproduction of the original, occurs in an Oxford ms., Baroccianus 128, published by Dindorf, 1831 (op. cit.); the less reduced, in Codex Paris. 854, published under the title *Ἐκλογή ἱστοριῶν* by Cramer, 1839, Anecd. Paris. II, 166 ff.¹ By combining these two excerpts, which, in general, present concordant readings in all passages common to both, we obtain a text which, for the most part, approaches the original Malalas in completeness.²

A second Byzantine version of Dictys is that introduced by John of Antioch³ (seventh century) in his lost *Ἱστορία χρονική*.⁴

Fragments of John of Antioch's history of Dictys survive in the five following excerpt-collections. Two fragments, of which the first (ed. C. Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc. IV, 1868, frag. 23, p. 550) contains a history of events opening with the Birth of Paris and ending with the assembling of the Greek host and a Dictys-citation, and the second (ed. Cramer, Anec. Paris. II, 1839, 4, 3-5, 13; C. Müller, idem, frag. 25, p. 551), an account of the Adventures of Agamemnon and Orestes, occur in the Constantine collection;⁵ a series of ten brief fragments (ed. Cramer, idem, pp. 390 ff; C. Müller, idem, frag. 24, 1-10, p. 550), which contain extracts from various portions of Dictys, viz.: Youth of Paris (24, 1); Discoveries of Palamedes (24, 2); Embassy of Priam to King David and King Tautanes (24, 3); Death of Hector

¹ The Oxford ms. contains a continuous, though abridged and at times defective (cf. p. 46, note 2), reproduction of the entire *Χρονογραφία*; the Ekloge, which is an anonymous history of the Israelites, contains, on the other hand, merely the annals of Dictys (pp. 197, 13-221, 19; 222, 16-227, 5), interpolated from the fifth book of the *Χρονογραφία* (cf. Cramer, p. 165; Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus II, 1898, 298 ff.).

² That the Ekloge, though more expanded than the Oxford ms., fails to preserve the full text of the original Malalas is shown by the fact that its readings are occasionally exceeded by readings contained in the other reproductions of Malalas mentioned p. 46, note 2 (cf. Fürst, Philol. LX, 238).

³ John of Antioch, often confused by earlier critics with his contemporary and compatriot John Malalas (also of Antioch), has been conclusively vindicated as a separate author by Hodus (Proleg. to Dindorf's ed. of Malalas, p. xxi).

⁴ The *Ἱστορία χρονική* opens with the Creation and comes down to the death of Phokas (610). Cf. Krumbacher, p. 334.

⁵ Cf. p. 82, note 1.

(24, 4); Death of Polydoros (24, 5); Rhesos-episode (24, 6); Description of the Palladion (24, 7); Sacrifices of the Trojans (24, 8); Adventures of Odysseus (24, 9); and mention of Circe and Calypso (24, 10), occur in the Salmasian collection;¹ six disconnected fragments, likewise containing excerpts from various portions of Dictys, occur under the six following rubrics in the Lexicon of Suidas: Πάριον (Youth of Paris); Ῥήσος (episode of Rhesos); Παλλάδιον (Description of the Palladion; Rape of the Palladion; Palladion-strife; Death of Ajax); Κυνὸς σῆμα (Death of Hecuba); Χάρυβδης (Adventures of Odysseus at Scylla and Charybdis); and Βενεβεντός (Adventures of Diomedes); a long fragment, containing an unbroken narrative of events opening with the Death of Ajax and ending with the Death of Odysseus, occurs in an Hypothesis of the Odyssey (ed. from Codex Palatinus of the fourteenth century by Dindorf, Scholia Graeca in Odysseam, 1855, I, 3, 20-6, 13); a similarly continuous fragment, opening with the Youth of Paris and ending with the Capture of Troy, occurs in the Chronicle of Joannes Sikeliota (ed. A. Heinrich, Die Chronik des Jo. Sikeliota der Wiener Hofbibl., Graz, 1892).²

A third version of Dictys'-annals is presented by Georgias Kedrenos (eleventh century) in his *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* (ed. Bekker in Niebuhr, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz., 1838, I, 216, 13-238, 13).³ The history of the Trojan War opens with the Youth of Paris and ends with the Death of Aeneas. In contrast to Malalas', Kedrenos' chronicle is preserved in its entire and original form and furnishes, in consequence, a peculiarly valuable basis of comparison with Septimius.

The general relation between Septimius and these several Byzantine versions of Dictys is indicated in the following table of episodic comparison.⁴

¹ Cf. p. 82, note 2.

² For the reasons for regarding these several fragments as derived from the lost chronicle of John of Antioch, vid. pp. 81 ff.

³ The *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* runs from the Creation down to the accession of Isaac Komnenos (1057). Cf. Krumbacher, p. 368.

⁴ This table is designed to present, in what appears to have been their original order (in the Greek Dictys), all the more important episodes preserved in the several surviving versions of Dictys. All departures, in a given version, from what may be supposed to have been the original Dictæan order, are indicated by the insertion of an asterisk against the episode so displaced. All episodes peculiar to a single version are omitted, unless there is evidence in the other versions that these peculiar episodes originally existed in the Greek Dictys (vid. pp. 100 ff.).

TABLE OF

SARTIMTIUS.

MALALAS (represented in Oxford Malalas and Ekloge).

of Paris, related, below, in Siege of Troy
Helen (I, §).

as to Priam (I, 5-11; II, 20-23).

g].

tation (I, 13).

logue, (I, 17).

of Iphigenia (I, 19-22).

Palamedes (II, 15).

rays (II, 13; 16-19).

Polydorus (II, 27).

Achilles (II, 28, 30-34, 48-52).

pinode (II, 45).

Troy (III, I-V, 21).

ysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Youth of
s; Battles with Penthesilea and Memnon;
illes and Polyxena episode; Death of Achilles;
between Paris and Deiphobos; Death of Paris].
of Troy (II, 22; V, 1-13).

ysis: Description of the Palladion; Trojan Sac-
s; Rape of the Palladion; Peace Negotiations;
den Horse; Entry and Destruction of Troy].

1-strife (V, 14).

Ajax (V, 15).

Hecuba (V, 16).

es of Odysseus (VI, 5-6; 14-15).

ires of Aeneas (V, 17).

es of Diomedes (VI, 2).

es of Agamemnon (VI, 2).

es of Menelaus (VI, 4).

g].

es of Neoptolemus (VI, 7-9, 12).

es of Orestes (VI, 8, 4, 13).

Youth of Paris (Mal. 92, 1-93, 11; Ekl. 197, 1
198, 15).

Rape of Helen (Mal. 93, 23-95, 21; Ekl. 198,
199, 16).

Embassies to Priam (Mal. 97, 3-11; Ekl. 199, 3
200, 7).

*Portraits, given below (Mal. 103, 11-107, 1), betw
Death of Polydorus and Palladion-strife.

*Dictys-citation, given below (Mal. 107, 1-11),
tween Death of Polydorus and Palladion-strife.

*Ship-catalogue (Ekl. 200, 23-201, 16; in Oxford
given below (Mal. 107, 11-108, 10), between D
of Polydorus and Palladion-strife.

Sacrifice of Iphigenia (Mal. 98, 1-23; Ekl. 200, 7-5

*Discoveries of Palamedes related in Portrait of P
medes (Mal. 103, 11-16).

Greek Forays (Mal. 99, 13-103, 7; Ekl. 202, 4-204,

Death of Polydorus (Mal. 103, 7-10; Ekl. 204, 7-1

*Deposition of Achilles (Mal. 101, 19-102, 9; I
203, 12-24).

[Wanting].

Siege of Troy, related below, partly in Palladion-str
partly in Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrr
(q. v.).

Capture of Troy, related below, in Palladion-st
(q. v.).

Palladion-strife, containing recital of the latter port
of the Siege, and of the Capture of Troy (Mal. 1
18-114, 1; Ekl. 204, 25-207, 30).

[Analysis: Description of the Palladion; Duel
tween Paris and Philoctetes; Death of Pa
Rape of the Palladion; Trojan Sacrifices; Pe
Negotiations; Wooden Horse; Entry and
struction of Troy].

Death of Ajax (Mal. 114, 2-3; Ekl. 208, 2-7).

[Wanting].

Adventures of Odysseus (Mal. 114, 5-122, 2; E
208, 8-210, 2).

*Adventures of Aeneas (Mal. 167, 7-169, 3; E
221, 25-222, 15).

Adventures of Diomedes (Mal. 122, 3-4; 167, 4
Ekl. 216, 6-10).

Adventures of Agamemnon (Mal. 122, 5-7; Ekl. 2
11-12).

[Wanting].

Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, containing
cital of earlier portion of Siege of Troy (Mal. 1
7-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 16-221, 24).

[Analysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Bat
with Penthesilea and Memnon; Achilles
Polyxena episode; Death of Achilles].

[Wanting].

Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20; E
222, 16-226, 31).

dic-
ma/

displaced from the position in which it may be supposed to h
inal position of important displacements is indicated in the tal

COMPARISON.

OF ANTIOCH (represented by excerpts in chronicle
ioannes Sikeliota, Constantine and Salmasian col-
lions, Suidas, and Hypothesis of the Odyssey).

KEDRENOS.

of Paris (Sik. 4, 6—5, 8; Const. fr. 23; Salm.
24, 1; Suidas, Παρίον).

of Helen (Sik. 5, 8—27; Const. fr. 23).

mies to Priam (Sik. 5, 35—6, 3).

ting].

-citation (Const. fr. 23; cf., for further allusions
ictys, Sik. 7, 15; 8, 6—7, 14; Salm. fr. 24, 3, 4, 5).
atalogue (Sik. 6, 9—25).

ting].

eries of Palamedes (Salm. fr. 24, 2).

Forays (Sik. 6, 36—7, 15).

h of Polydoros, related below in Siege of Troy
v.).

of Achilles (Sik. 7, 5—7).

s-episode (Salm. fr. 24, 6; Suidas, 'Pῆσος).

of Troy (Sik. 7, 18—9, 16; Salm. fr. 24, 4, 5).

alysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Battle
ith Penthesilea and Memnon; Death of Poly-
oros; Death of Achilles; Death of Paris].

re of Troy (Sik. 9, 17—10, 25; Salm. fr. 24, 7,
Suidas, Παλλάδιον).

alysis: Peace Negotiations; Trojan Sacrifices;
Wooden Horse; Entry and Destruction of Troy;
escription of Palladion; Rape of Palladion].

lion-strife (Sik. 10, 16—17; Suidas, Παλλάδιον).

Youth of Paris (216, 13—217, 8).

Rape of Helen (217, 9—218, 5).

Embassies to Priam (218, 18—22).

*Portrait of Helen, given above (217,
of Helen.

*Dictys-citation, given below (223,
Death of Polydoros and Siege of Ti
Ship-catalogue, alluded to (219, 1—4).

Sacrifice of Iphigenia (219, 6—220, 3
Death and Discoveries of Palamedes (

Greek Forays (221, 10—222, 24).

Death of Polydoros (222, 24—223, 4)

*Wrath of Achilles (222, 7—13).

[Wanting].

Siege of Troy (223, 14—229, 4).

[Analysis: Hector's Death and Rans
Penthesilea and Memnon; Achil
episode; Death of Achilles; Du
Deiphobos; Death of Paris].

Capture of Troy (229, 5—232, 2).

[Analysis: Description of Palladio
ladian; Trojan Sacrifices; Peac
Wooden Horse; Entry and Destr

Palladion-strife (232, 3—8).

of Ajax (Suidas, Παλλάδιον; Hyp. of Od., 3,
—4, 3).

of Hecuba (Suidas, Κυρὸς σῆμα; Hyp. of Od.
—7).

tures of Odysseus (Salm. fr. 24, 9, 10; Suidas,
υβδης; Hyp. of Od. 4, 9—6, 13).

ting].

tures of Diomedes (Suidas, Βερεβερτός).

tures of Agamemnon (Const. fr. 25).

ting].

ting].

Death of Ajax (232, 8).

Death of Hecuba (232, 13—16).

Adventures of Odysseus (232, 8—233,

*Adventures of Aeneas (237, 22—238

*Adventures of Diomedes (234, 12—17

Adventures of Agamemnon (233, 23—

Adventures of Menelaus (234, 4—11).

[Wanting].

ting].

tures of Orestes (Const. fr. 25).

[Wanting].

Adventures of Orestes (234, 18—237,

TABLE OF

SUMMARIUS.

MALALAS (represented in Oxford Malalas and Ekloge).

of Paris, related, below, in Siege of Troy
Helen (I, §).

to Priam (I, 5-11; II, 20-23).

].

ation (I, 13).

logue, (I, 17).

of Iphigenia (I, 19-22).
Palamedes (II, 15).

rays (II, 13; 16-19).
Polydoros (II, 27).

Achilles (II, 28, 30-34, 48-52).

isode (II, 45).

Troy (III, I-V, 21).

sis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Youth of
; Battles with Penthesilea and Memnon;
lles and Polyxena episode; Death of Achilles;
between Paris and Deiphobos; Death of Paris].
f Troy (II, 22; V, 1-13).

sis: Description of the Palladion; Trojan Sac-
s; Rape of the Palladion; Peace Negotiations;
len Horse; Entry and Destruction of Troy].

-strife (V, 14).

Ajax (V, 15).

Hecuba (V, 16).

as of Odysseus (VI, 5-6; 14-15).

res of Aeneas (V, 17).

as of Diomedes (VI, 2).

... Agamemnon (VI, 2).

es of Menelaus (VI, 4).
].

es of Neoptolemus (VI, 7-9, 12).
es of Orestes (VI, 8, 4, 13).

Youth of Paris (Mal. 92, 1-93, 11; Ekl. 197, 11
198, 15).

Rape of Helen (Mal. 93, 23-95, 21; Ekl. 198, 1
199, 16).

Embassies to Priam (Mal. 97, 3-11; Ekl. 199, 30
200, 7).

*Portraits, given below (Mal. 103, 11-107, 1), betw
Death of Polydoros and Palladion-strife.

*Dictys-citation, given below (Mal. 107, 1-11),
tween Death of Polydoros and Palladion-strife.

*Ship-catalogue (Ekl. 200, 23-201, 16; in Oxford;
given below (Mal. 107, 11-108, 10), between De
of Polydoros and Palladion-strife.

Sacrifice of Iphigenia (Mal. 98, 1-23; Ekl. 200, 7-2

*Discoveries of Palamedes related in Portrait of Pa
medes (Mal. 103, 11-16).

Greek Forays (Mal. 99, 13-103, 7; Ekl. 202, 4-204,
Death of Polydoros (Mal. 103, 7-10; Ekl. 204, 7-1

*Deposition of Achilles (Mal. 101, 19-102, 9; E
203, 12-24).

[Wanting].

Siege of Troy, related below, partly in Palladion-str
partly in Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrh
(q. v.).

Capture of Troy, related below, in Palladion-str
(q. v.).

Palladion-strife, containing recital of the latter porti
of the Siege, and of the Capture of Troy (Mal. II
18-114, 1; Ekl. 204, 25-207, 30).

[Analysis: Description of the Palladion; Duel
tween Paris and Philoctetes; Death of Par
Rape of the Palladion; Trojan Sacrifices; Pe
Negotiations; Wooden Horse; Entry and I
struction of Troy].

Death of Ajax (Mal. 114, 2-3; Ekl. 208, 2-7).

[Wanting].

Adventures of Odysseus (Mal. 114, 5-122, 2; E
208, 8-210, 2).

*Adventures of Aeneas (Mal. 167, 7-169, 3; E
221, 25-222, 15).

Adventures of Diomedes (Mal. 122, 3-4; 167, 4
Ekl. 216, 6-10).

Adventures of Agamemnon (Mal. 122, 5-7; Ekl. 2
11-12).

[Wanting].

Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, containing
cital of earlier portion of Siege of Troy (Mal. I
7-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 16-221, 24).

[Analysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Batt
with Penthesilea and Memnon; Achilles
Polyxena episode; Death of Achilles].

[Wanting].

Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20; E
222, 16-226, 31).

*asterisk indicates an episode displaced from the position in which it may be supposed to be
the original Dictys. The original position of important displacements is indicated in the tab*

COMPARISON.

OF ANTIOCH (represented by excerpts in chronicle
 Johannes Sikeliota, Constantine and Salmasian col-
 ons, Suidas, and Hypothesis of the Odyssey).

KEDRENOS.

of Paris (Sik. 4, 6—5, 8; Const. fr. 23; Salm.
 4, 1; Suidas, Πάριον).
 of Helen (Sik. 5, 8—27; Const. fr. 23).

Youth of Paris (216, 13—217, 8).

Rape of Helen (217, 9—218, 5).

sies to Priam (Sik. 5, 35—6, 3).

Embassies to Priam (218, 18—22).

ing].

*Portrait of Helen, given above (217, 19—21), in
 of Helen.

-citation (Const. fr. 23; cf., for further allusions
 ictys, Sik. 7, 15; 8, 6—7, 14; Salm. fr. 24, 3, 4, 5).
 atalogue (Sik. 6, 9—25).

*Dictys-citation, given below (223, 4—14), be
 Death of Polydoros and Siege of Troy.
 Ship-catalogue, alluded to (219, 1—4).

ing].

Sacrifice of Iphigenia (219, 6—220, 3).
 Death and Discoveries of Palamedes (220, 3—21).

eries of Palamedes (Salm. fr. 24, 2).

Forays (Sik. 6, 36—7, 15).

Greek Forays (221, 10—222, 24).

of Polydoros, related below in Siege of Troy
 v.).

Death of Polydoros (222, 24—223, 4).

of Achilles (Sik. 7, 5—7).

*Wrath of Achilles (222, 7—13).

-episode (Salm. fr. 24, 6; Suidas, 'Ρῆσος).

[Wanting].

of Troy (Sik. 7, 18—9, 16; Salm. fr. 24, 4, 5).
 alysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Battle
 th Penthesilea and Memnon; Death of Poly-
 ros; Death of Achilles; Death of Paris].

Siege of Troy (223, 14—229, 4).

e of Troy (Sik. 9, 17—10, 25; Salm. fr. 24, 7,
 uidas, Παλλάδιον).

[Analysis: Hector's Death and Ransom; Battle
 Penthesilea and Memnon; Achilles and Pol
 episode; Death of Achilles; Duel between
 Deiphobos; Death of Paris].

alysis: Peace Negotiations; Trojan Sacrifices;
 ooden Horse; Entry and Destruction of Troy;
 æscription of Palladion; Rape of Palladion].

Capture of Troy (229, 5—232, 2).

ion-strife (Sik. 10, 16—17; Suidas, Παλλάδιον).

[Analysis: Description of Palladion; Rape of
 ladian; Trojan Sacrifices; Peace Negotiat
 Wooden Horse; Entry and Destruction of T

Palladion-strife (232, 3—8).

of Ajax (Suidas, Παλλάδιον; Hyp. of Od., 3,
 4, 3).

Death of Ajax (232, 8).

of Hecuba (Suidas, Κυρὸς σῆμα; Hyp. of Od.
 -7).

Death of Hecuba (232, 13—16).

tures of Odysseus (Salm. fr. 24, 9, 10; Suidas,
 βδῆς; Hyp. of Od. 4, 9—6, 13).
 ing].

Adventures of Odysseus (232, 8—233, 22).

*Adventures of Æneas (237, 22—238, 18).

tures of Diomedes (Suidas, Βερεβερτός).

*Adventures of Diomedes (234, 12—17).

tures of Agamemnon (Const. fr. 25).

Adventures of Agamemnon (233, 23—234, 8).

ing].

Adventures of Menelaus (234, 4—11).

ing].

[Wanting].

ing].

[Wanting].

tures of Orestes (Const. fr. 25).

Adventures of Orestes (234, 18—237, 21).

It will be seen from the foregoing table that a substantial agreement exists between Septimius and the various Byzantine versions of Dictys as respects (1) the general scope of each version, (2) the nature and order of episodes in each, and (3) the presence in each of at least one Dictys-citation.¹ In addition to these general resemblances in treatment, specific agreements in text not infrequently occur, as in the following passages.

(1) HELEN'S RECEPTION IN TROY.

Sept. (I, 9).

* Malalas (Mal. 96, 18-97, 2; Ekl. 199, 25-29).

Kedrenos (218, 15-18)

Postquam memoriter cuncta retexuit, ad postremum flens orare, ne, quae semel in fidem eorum recepta esset, prodendam putarent. Ea secum dono Menelai adportata, quae propria fuissent, nihil praeter ea ablatum. . . . Igitur Hecuba . . . complexa Helenam, ne proderetur, summis opibus adnitebatur.

ταῦτα δὲ εἰπούσα ἡ Ἑλένη τῷ Πριάμῳ καὶ τῇ Ἑκάβῃ ἤτησεν αὐτοὺς ὀρκώσασα μὴ προδοθῆναι, καὶ λέγουσα μὴδὲν τῶν Μενελάου εἰληφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἴδια μόνα ἔλεγεν ἔχειν. καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ Ἑκάβη περιλαβοῦσα αὐτὴν κατεφίλει καὶ πλείω πάντων αὐτῆς ἀντείχετο.

ταῦτα Ἑλένη εἰπούσα, καὶ αἶμα διομνυμένη μὴδὲν τῶν Μενελάου λαβεῖν, καὶ ὄρκον δὲ ἀπαιτήσασα μὴ προδοθῆναι, ἔμεινεν ἀγαπωμένη πρὸς αὐτῶν.

(2) DEATH OF ACHILLES.

Septimius (IV, 11).

* Malalas (Mal. 131, 17-21; Ekl. 221, 6-10).

Kedrenos (228, 11-14).

Tum Ajax, "fuit" inquit "confirmatum ac verum per mortales nullum hominum *existere potuisse*, qui te vera *virtute* superaret, sed, *ut palam est*, tua te *inconspicua temeritas* prodidit." Dein Achilles extremum adhuc retentans spiritum "*dolo me atque insidiis*" inquit "Deiphibus atque Alexander Polyzenae *gratia* circumvenere."

εἶπεν οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς Αἴας, Ὅν ἄρα ἀληθῶς ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἡδύνατο κτεῖναι σε ἀλκῇ διαφέροντα πάντων; ἀλλ' ἡ σὴ προπέτεια ἀπώλεσέ σε. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἶπε, Δόλω εἰργάσαντό με Πάρις καὶ Διήφοβος διὰ Πολυξένην.

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Αἴας "ἀρ' ἦν ἄνθρωπος δυνάμενος κτεῖναι σε; ἀλλ' ἡ σὴ προπέτεια μόνῃ σε ἀπώλεσε." πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἔσχατα πνέων "δόλω εἰργάσαντο με" φησί "Πάρις καὶ Διήφοβος διὰ Πολυξένην.

¹ These evidences of relationship naturally appear in full only in the complete versions of Malalas and Kedrenos; in the fragmentary versions they are preserved only in part.

(3) DEATH OF AJAX.

Septimius (V, 15).

At lucis principio Aiace
in medio exanimem offe-
dunt perquirentesque mor-
tis genus animadvertere fer-
ro interfectum. Inde ortus
[est] per duces atque exer-
citus tumultus ingens ac
dein seditio brevi adulta
. . . Igitur Ulysses veritus
vim . . . aufugit etc.

* Malalas (Mal. 114, 2-5 ; Ekl. 208, 4-7).

καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς σιδήρῳ ἐσφα-
γη ὁ Αἴας. καὶ τῇ πρῶτῃ
ἡρέθη τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ·
καὶ ἐστασίασεν ὁ στρατὸς
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πύρρου κατὰ
τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, θέλων αὐτὸν
φονεῦσαι.

Kedrenos (232, 8-10).

διὰ μέντοι νυκτὸς ἀδήλως
σφάζεται Αἴας. πρῶτας
δὲ γενομένης ὡς εὔρεθη νεκ-
ρός, πολλῆς στάσεως γενο-
μένης εἰς ὑπόληψιν ἦλθεν
τῆς πράξεως Ὀδυσσεύς.

From these many close resemblances between Septimius and the Byzantine versions it is obvious that, just as in the case of the Dictys-references so here again, we have to do with material that belongs to one and the same tradition. Here, therefore, the same question confronts us as before, viz.: Is this general resemblance between Septimius and the Byzantines due, as the advocates of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris maintain,¹ to a derivation of the Byzantine texts from the earlier Latin Dictys, or, as the champions of the Greek Dictys contend,² to the independent derivation of the Latin and Greek texts from a common Greek prototype?

The answer to this question must be again sought in a consideration of the various points of difference between Septimius and the Byzantine versions of Dictys. To these differences we will now pass.

As will appear in the following pages, Septimius differs in certain important and fundamental respects from all the Byzantines alike; in other and additional respects, from each Byzantine

* The passages from Malalas are quoted from the Oxford ms.; slight but negligible verbal differences occur in Ekloge. No passages are quoted from John of Antioch owing to the fragmentary condition in which that author survives.

¹ Joly (1870), op. cit., I, 146 ff.; Dunger (1878), op. cit., pp. 12 ff.; Greif (1886), Die mittelalt. d. Bearb. Trojanersage, pp. 173 ff. and again, (1900), Neue Untersuch. zur Dictys- u. Daresfrage, pp. 1 ff.

² Koerting (1874), op. cit., pp. 16 ff.; Noack (1892), op. cit., pp. 403 ff.; Patzig (1892), Byz. Zs. I, 131 ff.; Fürst, (1901), Philol. LX, pp. 330 ff.

in particular. It will be best, therefore, to consider, first, those broad differences that separate Septimius from the Byzantines as a class, and, secondly, these more particular sets of differences that part Septimius from each of the Byzantines in turn. We pass, first, to the differences that hold Septimius apart from the Byzantines as a class.

As may be gathered in part from the foregoing table, the Byzantines not infrequently hold together as over against Septimius in respect to the common possession of certain features that unite them in a group by themselves. Thus the Byzantines differ from Septimius and agree among themselves as respects the order of certain incidents. For example, the Byzantines regularly introduce their account of the Youth of Paris at the opening of their histories and not, as Septimius (Eph. III, 26), as related later by Priam to Achilles on the occasion of Priam's visit to the Greek camp. In like manner, the Byzantines place their main Dictys-citation not, as Septimius, between the Embassy to Priam and the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, but later, between the Death of Polydorus and the Siege of Troy. Finally, the Byzantines place the Adventures of Aeneas after, and not, as Septimius, before, the Return of the Greeks. Again, the Byzantines not infrequently differ from Septimius in the version they give of certain incidents. Thus in their account of the Death of Palamedes the Byzantines (Malalas, as here represented by his excerptor Tzetzes, Hom. vs. 362-385¹; Kedrenos, 220, 3-7) relate that that hero was accused of treachery by Odysseus on the evidence of forged letters, and stoned to death by the Greeks; Septimius (II, 15), that Palamedes was lured into a pit by Ulysses and Diomedes, to seek hidden treasure, and there stoned to death. Similarly the Byzantines (Mal. 111, 7-8; J. of A.,

¹The passage in which Malalas relates the Discoveries of Palamedes and, as we may assume by comparison with Kedrenos and Tzetzes (cf. pp. 31, note 3, and 62, note 2), his Death as well, occurs in his portrait of Palamedes (Mal. 103, 11-16). But the earlier portion of Malalas' list of portraits, including the opening of his portrait of Palamedes, is lacking in the Oxford ms. by reason of a large lacuna on p. 103 (cf. Neumann, *Hermes* XV, 256; Noack, pp. 408-411; Fürst, *Philol.* LX, 242). This portrait is likewise lacking in the Ekloge, where an important omission occurs at this point (vid. p. 47, note 1). What, however, Malalas must either here, or elsewhere, have recorded of Palamedes' death, appears from Malalas' excerptor Tzetzes, whose account agrees with that of Kedrenos.

9, 15 ; Kedr. 229, 2-3) relate that Oinone, on seeing Paris' dead body, died of a broken heart;¹ Septimius (Eph. IV, 21) that she hung herself.² Nor less striking is the manner in which the Byzantines hold together either in giving a detailed treatment of incidents but briefly recorded by Septimius or else in slighting incidents related at length in the Latin Ephemeris. Thus the Byzantines (Mal. 92, 1-93, 11 ; Ekl. 197, 13-198, 15 ; Kedr. 216, 13-217, 8) give a much more circumstantial account than Septimius (III, 26) of the Youth of Paris ; (Mal. 93, 23-95, 21 ; Ekl. 198, 3-199, 16 ; Kedr. 217, 9-218, 5), of the Rape of Helen (Eph. I, 3) ; also (Mal. 114, 5-122, 2 ; Ekl. 208, 8-216, 5 ; Kedr. 232, 8-233, 22), of the Adventures of Odysseus (Eph. VI, 5-6 ; 14-15) ; and (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20 ; Ekl. 222, 16-226, 31 ; Kedr. 234, 18-237, 21), of the Adventures of Orestes (Eph. VI, 3 ; 4 ; 13).³ Conversely, the Byzantines (Mal. 97, 3-11 ; Ekl. 199, 30-200, 7 ; Kedr. 218, 18-22) have much less to say than Septimius (I, 5-11) of the Embassies to Priam⁴ ; and (Mal. 101,

¹ Repeated from Malalas by Tzetzes, *Posthom.*, v. 597 (cf. p. 19, note).

² In the treatment of many other episodes as well, the Byzantines differ in a number of minor details from Septimius. Thus the Byzantines (Mal. 94, 13 ; Ekl. 198, 23-24 ; Kedr. 217, 13-14) relate that Paris was welcomed by Menelaus in Sparta ; Septimius (I, 3), that at the time of Paris' arrival, Menelaus had already left for Crete. The Byzantines (Mal. 92, 1-7 ; Ekl. 197, 16-21 ; Kedr. 216, 13-17) state that it was Priam, Septimius (III, 26) that it was Hecuba who *inf* was informed by an oracle that Paris would prove the destruction of Troy and who, in consequence, committed him to the care of a shepherd ; the Byzantines (Mal. 128, 8 ff. ; Ekl. 219, 27 ff. ; Kedr. 226, 15 ff.), state that Ajax Telamon, while other Greek leaders were diverting the attention of the rest of the Trojans, thrust aside the shield of his antagonist Memnon and thus exposed him to a death blow from Achilles ; Septimius (Eph. IV, 6), that while Odysseus and Idomeneus were holding the rest of the enemy in check, Idomeneus removed Memnon's shield by stealth and thus exposed him to a death blow from Achilles ; the Byzantines (Mal. 113, 5 ; Ekl. 207, 15-16 ; Kedr. 230, 18-20) relate that Odysseus ordered the construction of the Wooden Horse ; Septimius (V, 19) ascribes the order to Helenos.

³ As we shall afterwards see (pp. 111 ff.), the abbreviated account of the adventures of Odysseus and Orestes in the sixth book of the Latin Ephemeris affords interesting confirmation of the truth of the translator's assertion (in the preface) that he has condensed the last five books of his Greek original into one.

⁴ Thus Septimius not only gives a much more detailed account than the Byzantines of the embassy undertaken before the opening of the war (Eph. I, 5-11), but adds an equally circumstantial account of a later embassy to propose the restoration of Polydorus in exchange for Helen (Eph. II, 20-23).

19-102, 9; Ekl. 203, 12-24; Kedr. 222, 7-13) of the Wrath of Achilles, an episode which Septimius (Eph. II, 30-34; 48-52) relates with a fulness much more nearly commensurate with its Homeric importance. Again, though less frequently, Septimius either omits Dictaeon incidents present in the Byzantines (e. g. the Portraits, Mal. 103, 11-107, 1; cf. Kedr., Portrait of Helen, 217, 19-21), or presents incidents lacking in the latter (e. g. Adventures of Neoptolemus, Eph. VI, 7-9; 12).¹ Finally, and what is of still greater significance, the Byzantines uniformly exhibit a much simpler style and less varied vocabulary than Septimius, whose phraseology is peculiarly ornate and artificial, and, as we shall afterwards see (pp. 113 ff.), abounds in rhetorical amplifications drawn from earlier Latin models.

From these numerous points of common difference from Septimius it is evident that the Byzantines are not, as the advocates of the originality of that text maintain,² derived from the Latin Ephemeris, but that they form a distinct class by themselves, independent of Septimius. Nevertheless, the Byzantine versions of Dictys belong, at the same time, as we have seen, to the same Dictys-tradition as the Latin Septimius. We are consequently obliged to assume, as the common source of each, an earlier Greek Dictys, of which Septimius and the Byzantines represent independent, though parallel, redactions. As respects the constitution of this

¹ Hardly relevant to our argument, because, presumably, strange to Dictys, is the presence in the Ephemeris of an elaborate account of the Campaign in Moesia (Eph. II, 1-6).

² The advocates of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris contend that the Byzantines derived their annals of Dictys from Septimius, either directly, as in the case of Malalas, or indirectly (sc. through Malalas), as in that of the later Byzantines. But, as Noack has pointed out (p. 405) these critics might have been warned from such a conclusion by a significant remark made with reference to the Hypothesis of the Odyssey by Buttmann, who perceived the following objection both to the derivation of that text from Malalas and to the derivation of Malalas from Septimius: "Obstat, tamen, quod extrema [in Hypothese] de Alcino, Telegono, etc. ibi [sc. in Malala] non exstant, sed cum eis quae apud Dictyem leguntur fere conspirant. Atque Malalas sua etiam illa e Dictye se hausisse testatur, quae tamen in Dictye nostro Latino non inveniuntur." (Quoted by Dindorf in his 1855 edition of the Hypothesis, p. 3, note 19).

Dictys-original and the question whether Septimius or the Byzantines may be held to reproduce it the more closely, we shall gain further light in the course of our ensuing comparisons between Septimius and each of the Byzantines in turn. We pass first to Malalas.

Malalas.

We have already seen that Malalas, the earliest of the Byzantines, shares with the later Byzantine redactors of Dictys certain common variations from Septimius. We shall now see that Malalas possesses, in addition, certain further variations from Septimius peculiar to himself and not shared by these later versions. Now this latter class of peculiarly Malalean departures from Septimius, no less than the former, are interpreted by the advocates of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris as due, either to Malalas' misunderstanding of the Latin text of Septimius, to his own deliberate invention, or to his (supplementary) use of further sources.¹ But that such was not the case and that we have to do in Malalas, not with a Greek translation of the Latin Ephemeris, but with an entirely separate version of Dictys, drawn from an earlier Greek source, is made evident, in the first instance, by the important version of Malalas' history of Dictys interpolated in the Ekloge. In what way the interpolation in the Ekloge may be used to supply this evidence will appear from the following considerations.

Until recent years but little attention had been paid by Dictys-students to the Malalas-excerpt in the Ekloge. It had formerly been assumed that the Oxford ms. of Malalas (ed. Dindorf) preserved, substantially, the original form of the *Χρονογραφία*, and all comparisons between Malalas and other versions of Dictys (as, for example, by Koerting, 1874, and Dunger, 1878) had, accordingly, been conducted on the basis of this ms. But in the year 1892, Noack (Philol. Supplb. VI, 403 ff.) and Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 133 ff.)

¹ Joly, op. cit., 1870, I, 193 ff.; Dunger, op. cit., 1878, pp. 12 ff.; Greif, Die mittelalterl. Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage, Stengel, Ausgabe u. Abhandl., LXL, 1886, pp. 173 ff.; Haupt, Dares, Malalas u. Sisyphos, 1881, Philol. XL, pp. 107 ff.

made, independently of one another, the important discovery that the Ekloge (which, though published in 1839 by Cramer, *Anecd. Graec.* II, 166 ff. had since been left unheeded by subsequent students of Malalas¹) contains a second transcript of Malalas' Trojan War, which gives a much fuller reproduction than the Oxford ms. of the original text of that author.² For it appeared that the interpolation in the Ekloge, while frequently agreeing verbatim with corresponding passages in the Oxford text, constantly exceeds the limits of the latter, and serves in consequence as a means of

¹ With the sole exception of Haupt, who, despite his mention of the Ekloge in his review of Dunger (1878) in *Philol. Anzeiger*, X (1880), 539 ff., and again in his independent study, *Dares, Malalas u. Sisyphos*, *Philol.*, XL (1881), 116 ff., is so far committed to Dunger's view of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris as to pay little heed to the contrary results that might have been derived from a more careful study of its contents.

² In spite of mutilations in the Oxford ms. of the *Χρονολογία*, at the beginning, at the end, and in the middle (Dindorf, p. 103, where a large lacuna of some two pages occurs in the midst of the Trojan war), the abridged condition of the text therein contained had for a long time escaped the notice of scholars. Attention was first called to the true condition of the Oxford text in 1872 by Mommsen (*Hermes*, VI, 326), who discovered that an Escorial ms. of the Constantine excerpt *Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν* contained extracts from Malalas that presented, in addition to verbal agreements with the corresponding portions of the Oxford ms., readings that exceeded the compass of the Oxford text. A similar discovery was made in 1880 by Haupt (*Hermes*, XV, 230 ff.) and Jagić (*Hermes*, XV, 236), who found that an old Slavic translation of Malalas (in a Moscow ms.) revealed like deficiencies in the Oxford text. In particular, Neumann discovered in the same year (*Hermes*, XV, 256 ff.) that the Oxford lacuna (Dindorf, p. 103) could be supplied from the fuller readings contained in the parallel contexts of Ekloge, Kedrenos, and Isaak Porphyrogenitos. A series of similar results were subsequently obtained by Jeep (1881), *Die Lücken in der Chronik des Malalas*, *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., XXXVI, 351-368, who compared the Oxford ms. with Malalas excerpts in Theophanes; by Frick (1884), *Zur Kritik des J. Malalas*, *Hist. u. phil. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius*, pp. 51 ff., who brought into comparison with the Oxford ms. the Malalas-excerpts contained in *Codex Paris. 1630* and in the *Chronicon Paschale*; by Gelzer (1885), *Sextus Julius Africanus u. die Byz. Chronik*, I, 73; II, 358-378, who again brought into comparison the excerpts contained in *Chronicon Paschale* and Theophanes; and, lastly, by Patzig (1891), *Unerkannt u. unbekannt gebliebene Malalas-fragmente*, pp. 1 ff., who compared with the Oxford text four Malalas-excerpts printed by A. Mai in his (1842) *Spicilegium Romanum* under the title *De fragmentis historicis Tusculanis*.

restoring passages abridged in the Oxford transcript.¹ Proof that this excess of the Ekloge over the Oxford text still represents Malalas-material, and not material derived by Eklogarius from some other source, was found not only in the exactness with which these fuller readings suit the corresponding context of the Oxford Malalas but also in their reappearance in one or more of the other versions of Dictys (Septimius, Kedrenos, etc.). Thus in the following account of Odysseus' adventures with Polyphemos, Ekloge (209, 27 f.) agrees with Septimius (Eph. VI, 5) in the statement, omitted in the Oxford text (116, 22),² that Polyphemos rescued his daughter, Elpe, from the hands of the Greeks: *ταύτην* [sc. Ἑλπην] *ἀφάρπασαντες* < τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἀγροούντος > *ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἐξώρῃσαν* < ὁ δὲ Πολύφημος ἔπεμψε πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκείων κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ καταλαβόντες ἀφαιροῦνται βιαίως >. That the additional thought of Ekloge originally belonged in the Dictys-recital of Malalas is shown by its reappearance in Septimius: *ubi res cognita, interventu parentis, puella ablata [est] per vim*.³ Again in the following notice of the occasion of Menelaus' journey to Crete, viz., to sacrifice to Jove, Kedrenos (217, 17) steps in as evidence that the epithet of the god, *ἄσπερος*, omitted in the Oxford Malalas (94, 6), but found in Ekloge (198, 22), must also have stood in the original Malalas.⁴

¹As respects episodic content the two transcripts do not invariably coincide. The Ekloge retains matter lacking in the Oxford Malalas, viz.: the concluding portion of the Death of Polydoros (Ekl. 204, 10-12); the latter portion of the Adventures of Odysseus (Ekl. 213, 13-216, 5); the subsequent fortunes of Agenor (Ekl. 221, 23-24); the Adventures of Aeneas (Ekl. 221, 25-222, 15); and two brief Dictys-citations (Ekl. 210, 11; 216, 4). Conversely the Oxford transcript preserves matter lacking in the Ekloge, viz.: the Portraits (Mal. 99, 13-103, 7; 103, 11-107, 1), with the sole exception of that of Briseis (Ekl. 203, 10); and the main Dictys-citation (Mal. 107, 1-11). Otherwise the two transcripts agree episodically, save that Ekloge contains a list of the Kings of Troy (Ekl. 204, 16-24), interpolated from an unknown source, and an account of the Sirens (Ekl. 212, 30-213, 2) from Plutarch.

²As indicated by the symbol < >.

³Compare also the statement in Ekloge (221, 24 ff.) that Antenor was left by the Greeks as ruler in Phrygia, omitted in the Oxford ms., but present in Septimius (IV, 22; V, 17), and other passages in Ekloge, cited by Noack (pp. 412 ff.), whose presence in the original Malalas is confirmed by the testimony of Septimius.

⁴Cited by Noack (p. 408), together with other similar passages (pp. 409 ff.) in

Finally, Ekloge (213, 13 ff.) agrees, over the Oxford text (121, 17), both with Septimius (VI, 5, 6) and with Kedrenos (233, 7 ff.), in the account of Odysseus' return from Crete to Ithaca.¹ Thus the first portion of the account (Ekl. 213, 13-23), viz. that Odysseus, after leaving Crete, went to the isle of Alcinöos, omitted in the Oxford text, reappears both in Septimius (VI, 5) and in Kedrenos (233, 7 ff.); the second portion (Ekl. 213, 23-214, 7), viz. that Odysseus returned with Alcinöos to Ithaca and with his aid slew the suitors, also omitted in the Oxford text, recurs in Septimius VI, 6, and in Kedrenos (233, 10-13).²

It is thus clear that the fuller text of Ekloge, by reason of its constant agreement, over the Oxford text, with other versions of Dictys, represents, more nearly than the abridged Oxford ms., the original text of Malalas, and that it is on the basis of the former, not the latter, that all comparisons with Septimius should be instituted.

If now, in place of the Oxford text used by Dunger,³ we substitute in our comparison with Septimius the fuller text Ekloge (as representing the true version of Malalas), we find that the latter not infrequently surpasses the limits of the Latin Ephemeris. This is most clearly seen in the case of certain obscure passages in the Oxford Malalas, due, according to Dunger, to an incorrect reproduction of Septimius, but shown by the Ekloge to be abridged reproductions of an original Malalas, that so far exceeded the limits of the Latin text as to be entirely incapable of derivation therefrom. Thus Dunger (p. 22) regarded the Oxford passage (117, 17 ff.): ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς . . . ἐδεξιόθη παρὰ τοῦ Αἰόλου, βασιλέως τῶν νήσων· ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν διέμεινε τὰς δύο νήσους ταῖς θυγατρᾶσιν αὐτοῦ (sc. Κίρκη καὶ Καλυψοῖ) as an indication that Malalas misunderstood Septimius (VI, 5): per Aeoli insulas

which Kedrenos agrees, over the Oxford ms., with Ekloge, and thereby establishes the presence of the fuller version in the original Malalas.

¹ The account of Odysseus' adventures in the Oxford text ends abruptly with Odysseus' departure from Crete (122, 1); the remainder has, therefore, to be supplied from Ekloge (213, 13-216, 5).

² Quoted by Noack, p. 415.

³ In his comparisons with Septimius, pp. 21 ff.

devenerit ad Circe atque inde ad Calypso utramque reginam insularum, and inferred, from the Latin, that Circe and Calypso were identical with the islands of Aeolus. But from this erroneous conclusion, Dunger, as Noack has pointed out (p. 413), might have been spared had he consulted Kedrenos (232, 22), who expressly states that Circe and Calypso were daughters of Atlas: *Κίρκην καὶ Καλυψὶν τὰς θυγατέρας Ἀτλαντος*, and still more, had he known Ekloge which not only shows that in the true text of Malalas Atlas, not Aeolus, was the father of Circe and Calypso, but which also shows that the error in the Oxford Malalas was due to the presence in the original Malalas of an homœoteleuthon. For in the following passage in Ekloge (210, 15-22) the eye of the Oxford scribe passed from the first *τῶν νήσων* to the second, omitting all that lay between: *ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦλθεν εἰς τὰς Αἰολίους νήσους, καὶ δεξιῶθεις παρὰ Αἰόλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν νήσων ἀνάγεται πρὸς τὴν Κίρκην καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς ἀδελφὴν Καλυψὶν, θυγατέρας Ἀτλαντος βασιλέως τῶν νήσων· ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν διένειμε τὰς δύο νήσους ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ κτλ.*¹ This passage in Ekloge furnishes, therefore, unmistakable evidence that the original Malalas was a version of Dictys too long to come out of Septimius.

Again, Dunger, (p. 22) attempts to explain *θάπτουσιν αὐτὸν* [sc. *Ἐκτορα*] *ἔξω παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ Ἰλίου* (Mal. 125, 16) as a mistranslation of *sepelivere eum haud longe a tumulo Ili regis quondam* (Eph. IV, 1). But that Septimius, and not Malalas, is here at fault is clear from Ekloge: *θάπτουσι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως Ἰλίου* (218, 6), whence it appears that Malalas did not mistake Septimius, but that Septimius and, in all probability, the Oxford scribe as well, had recourse to a text of Dictys² in which the words *τῆς πόλεως* had either fallen out or become disfigured and that Septimius, perhaps under the influence of a foregoing allusion to King Ilos (as in Ekl. 204, 22),³ had understood *Ἰλῖος* to be the name of a king, not of a city.

¹ Cf. Patzig, *Byz. Zs.*, I, 134.

² The Oxford scribe, of course, to a text of Malalas in which the earlier Dictæan error had become perpetuated.

³ Lacking in the Oxford Malalas (cf. p. 47, note 1).

Wholly lacking in the Septimius is a third passage in which the Ekloge (211, 32–212, 6) presents an account much more detailed than in the Oxford ms. (119, 20) or Kedrenos (232, 23), of Ulysses' relations with Circe :

συμμιγείς αὐτῇ πρὸς γάμον · < γνοῦσα δὲ ὅτι συνέλαβεν ἄρρενα παῖδα · οὐδὲν γάρ ἡγνόει διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων, ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῇ · καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰς σύμβολον καὶ γνώρισμα πατρικῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ βεβαιώσεως τοῦ τικτομένου, δίδωσι αὐτῇ δόρυ θαλασσίας τρυγόνος κέντρον δεδορατισμένον · ὅστις Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ χρόνους πόλλους γεγηρακώς, ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τοῦ δόρατος πληγείς ἐν τῇ Ἰθάκῃ, τελευτᾷ > · περί ἧς Κίρκης κτλ.

Here Dunger (p. 28) believes from the silence of Septimius that Malalas must have drawn his brief notice of Odysseus' relations with Circe (in the Oxford ms.) from tradition. But that this is not so, is shown by the fuller version of this episode in Ekloge, which, although lacking in the corresponding context of Septimius, is nevertheless presupposed in the Latin account of the Death of Odysseus (Eph. VI, 14–15) in which allusion is made both to Telegonos and to the turtle-shaft with which he slays his father Odysseus.¹ Hence the account in Ekloge, and, consequently, in the original Malalas, must originally have stood in the Greek Dictys, and clearly indicates that Malalas here preserves in more detail than Septimius the original version of Dictys.

It thus appears that the original Malalas (as represented by Ekloge) contained passages too long to render possible Dunger's assumption that Malalas was derived from the Latin Ephemeris ; also, that Malalas' excess over Septimius cannot come from tradition, for it reappears now in Kedrenos and again in Septimius and must, therefore, have stood in their common source, viz. the Greek Dictys. In Ekloge, therefore, is to be found the first indisputable evidence that Malalas, the earliest of the Byzantines, is not derived from the Latin Dictys, but that, on the contrary, we must assume, as his source, the existence of an earlier Greek Dictys.

¹ Clear evidence that in his account of the Adventures of Odysseus (VI, 5–6 ; 14–15), as in that of the adventures of many of the other home-returning Greeks, Septimius has condensed the contents of his sixth book to the point of unintelligibility (vid., pp. 111 ff.).

Further evidence to the same effect appears when we pass from our special consideration of *Ekloge* to a consideration of those more general differences of structure, content, method of treatment, etc., that separate Malalas from Septimius, and which, for the most part, receive equal illustration in the Oxford text and in *Ekloge*.

Malalas differs very essentially from Septimius (and from other, Byzantine, versions of *Dictys* as well¹) in many important respects. In the first place he presents, in two different portions of his history, certain "portraits" or personal descriptions that are entirely lacking in Septimius and constitute a special feature of Malalas' history of the Trojan war.² Thus he gives, in the earlier portion of his history, disconnected Portraits of Helen (91, 8-13) and of the various women (Glaucæ, Diomeda, Astynome, etc.) captured by Ajax, Achilles and Diomedes on the occasion of their forays in the environs of Troy (Mal. 99, 13-103, 7) and, later, two important lists of Portraits, one of the principal Greek (Mal. 103, 17-105, 5), and the other of the principal Trojan heroes and heroines (Mal. 105, 7-107, 1).³ A characteristic of these Portraits, particularly of the earlier ones, is the presence of exact and specific details as respects the age, height, complexion and other interesting "points" of the personages described.⁴ As regards the explanation of the presence in Malalas of these Portraits, lacking in Septimius, authorities are

¹ To the differences that separate the later Byzantine versions from Malalas and that by thus disproving the derivation of the former from the latter, furnish additional evidence of a Greek *Dictys*, we shall recur in our consideration of these later versions (pp. 81 ff.).

² Aside from Dares, who, as we shall see, belongs to a tradition separate from *Dictys*, the only other authors to give Portrait-lists are Malalas' redactors: *Isaak Porphyrogenitos* (pp. 80-87); *Tzetzes*, *Posthom.* (vs. 361-368; 470; 651-675); *Constantine Manasses*, *Portrait of Helen*, v. 1157 ff.; and *Anonymus Uffenbachianus* (*Halle*, 1720) II, col. 655 ff.

³ These earlier Portraits occur as follows: Helen (Mal. 91, 8-13); Glaucæ (Mal. 89, 22-23; Diomeda (Mal. 100, 8); Astynome (Mal. 100, 18-19); Hippodamia (Mal. 101, 16-19; Ekl. 203, 10-12); Tecmessa (Mal. 103, 5-7).

⁴ Details which are often of a grotesque and bizarre character and clearly mark the romance, as distinguished from the epic of the Greeks (e. g., that Diomeda was twenty-two years old, Chryseis nineteen, and Briseis twenty-one, etc.).

disagreed. The advocates of the originality of the Latin *Ephemeris* regard the Portraits either as the invention of Malalas (e. g. Dunger, 1878, 23 ff.; Wagener, *Philol.* XXXVIII, 1879, 110 ff.) or else as derived by Malalas from a non-*Dictæan* source (Joly, 1870, pp. 193 ff.; Meister, *Ueber Dares von Phrygien*, 1871, p. 25; Haupt, *Philol.* XL, 1881, pp. 107 ff.; Greif (1900), pp. 11 ff.). But that these Portraits were not invented by Malalas is shown by their presence in *Dares* (Cap. XII, XIII), with whom, save for the Portraits, Malalas has, as we shall see, nothing in common, and of whom he can, in consequence, in no wise be looked upon as the source.¹ Nor can we assume with Joly and Meister that Malalas derived his Portraits from a Greek translation of *Septimius*, in which the Portraits of *Dares* had already become incorporated.² For Malalas and *Dares* not only differ totally in other portions of their histories, but also, as Wagener and Haupt have pointed out, too considerably even in their portraits to render possible the assumption that Malalas was either directly or indirectly indebted to *Dares*.³ Nor again, is it, as we shall see, possible to believe with Haupt and Greif that Malalas drew his Portraits from the highly problematical *Sisyphos* of *Cos*, whom he cites as authority for the *Adventures of Odysseus* and for the *Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos* (cf. *infra*, pp. 60 ff.).⁴

¹ Notwithstanding the fact that the sixth century *Dares* presents portraits which, though for chronological and other reasons incapable of derivation from Malalas, yet resemble in the main those presented by the Syrian chronographer, Patzig (*Byz. Zs.*, X, 1901, 608) still insists that Malalas invented his Portraits, alleging as his reason, the presence in other portions of the *Χρονογραφία* of portraits of the Roman Emperors (*Mal.*, 283, 2-306, 13), of Peter (*Mal.*, 256, 3 ff.) and of Paul (*Mal.*, 257, 5 ff.).

² This strange theory, first promulgated as we have seen (p. 19, note) by Barth, rests upon no surer footing than the difficulty of otherwise explaining the presence in Malalas of features absent in the Latin *Ephemeris*.

³ Thus Malalas presents certain Portraits absent in *Dares* (*Idomeneus*, *Philoctetes*, and *Calchas*) and omits others present in *Dares* (*Ajax Telamon*, *Podalirius* [*Polidarius*], *Machaon*, *Castor* and *Pollux*). Moreover, Malalas places his Portrait of *Ajax* the *Locrian* and *Pyrrhos* later, and of *Meriones*, earlier in the Greek list than *Dares*. Still again Malalas attributes somewhat different characteristics to the persons described than *Dares*. *Dares* shows a decided preference for the morals Malalas for the physical attributes of his characters.

⁴ To this *Sisyphos*-chronicle Haupt ascribes, for reasons that will afterwards appear, not only the portraits, but also practically all features of Malalas that are lacking in the Latin *Ephemeris*.

For the Portraits stand, not in that later portion of Malalas in which occur the incidents for which Sisypchos is cited, but in an earlier portion, which, as we shall show, is solely Dictæan.¹ In the light of these facts, which forbid alike the assumption that Malalas either invented his Portraits or derived them from any other known source, it would appear most reasonable to accept the view of Dederich (Praef. p. xxviii), Koerting (pp. 29 ff.), and Herzberg (Shakespeare Jahrbuch VI, 179) that Malalas found his Portraits in the Greek Dictys. This hypothesis gains additional support from the following considerations. In the first place, Malalas, as we have seen (p. 31), introduces his main Dictys-citation immediately after the Portraits and there can, in consequence, be no valid reason to doubt that it is to Dictys, not to Sisypchos, Dares, or any other author, that he means to refer them.² In the second place, it is hardly to be supposed that Dictys would have omitted a feature so well suited to sustain his claims of personal participation in the Trojan war as the likenesses of the leading personages, with whom, as in the parallel case of Dares, he may be supposed to have mingled. In the third place, portraits appear, as Fürst has shown (Philol. LXI, 1902, pp. 374 ff.), to have been a feature of no inconsiderable antiquity in Greek literature and to have figured frequently in works of much the same stamp as Dictys.³ We may consequently assume that portraits existed in

¹ Even more groundless than the ascription of the Portraits to Sisypchos is the attribution of them by Bourier (cited by Patzig, Byz. Zs. X, 608) to Dominos, an author cited by Malalas as authority for his account of the Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 142, 20).

² That the Portraits are to be regarded as the work of Dictys is clear not only from the evident backward reference of Malalas' *προγεγραμμένα*, but also from the fact that Isaak, Tzetzes, and Kedrenos expressly refer the Portraits (designated respectively as *ἰδιώματα*, *εἶδη*, and *χαρακτῆρας*) to Dictys (cf. p. 29, note 3).

³ Fürst claims for the portraits an Egyptian genesis. He finds the same conventional type of portraiture that occurs in Malalas in an Egyptian papyrus of 103 B. C.; regards the knit eye-brows of Dares' Helen as a not improbable remnant of oriental taste; and thinks it not strange that Dictys should have introduced portraits in a reputedly Phenician document. He moreover observes that the portraits enjoyed an ante-Byzantine circulation in the West, being found in the *Ἐρωικός* of Philostratos (c. 150) and in the *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (c. 160-170), and concludes that they were introduced by Dictys, or by the authors of the aforementioned works, to lend an air of reality to mythical and legendary annals.

the Greek Dictys and were abstracted therefrom by Malalas. That they fail to appear in other versions of Dictys (save, as we have seen, p. 29, in Kedrenos' portrait of Helen) may be explained (as Fürst suggests, *op. cit.*, p. 241) on some such theory as that of Koerting (p. 64), who maintains that as a feature of unusual interest, they may early have become detached from the main body of Dictys' annals and have circulated thenceforth as an independent volume, apart by themselves.

In the second place, Malalas differs from Septimius in his method of reproducing certain portions of the Dictys-material common to both. Thus, in contrast to Septimius, who relates that portion of his history of Dictys devoted to the Siege and Capture of Troy (Eph. III, 1-4, 21) in the same straightforward epic fashion in which has conducted all other portions of his narrative, Malalas throws his account of these events into the indirect form of two curiously contrived dialogues, the one between Ajax and Odysseus, and the other between Teucer and Pyrrhos (*vid. tab.*). The first dialogue (Mal. 109, 16-114, 1; Ekl. 204, 25-207, 30) consists of a dispute or altercation between Odysseus and Ajax Telamon as to who shall possess the Trojan Palladion, and is hence customarily termed the "Contest for the Palladion." By way of asserting their rival claims to the possession of this sacred relic each warrior recounts in turn his share in the exploits that have led to the capture of Troy. By this odd means the later events of the Siege and the whole of the Capture of Troy are briefly recapitulated¹ (*viz.*, Duel between Paris and Philoctetes; Death of Paris; Rape of the Palladion; Trojan sacrifices; Peace negotiations; Wooden Horse; Entry and Destruction of Troy). The second dialogue (Mal. 122, 7-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 16-221, 24), which is separated from the first by a brief interval of direct narration,² is employed as a means of completing the pre-

¹ Septimius and Kedrenos present, to be sure, a very short debate between Odysseus and Ajax (Eph., V, 14; Kedr. 232, 3-8) in which each warrior recalls briefly his former exploits, but make no attempt whatsoever to employ this debate as a vehicle for the regular narrative of the Siege of Troy, which they have already told at much greater length in its proper position, before the Capture of Troy (Eph., IV, 19-V, 13; Kedr. 228, 16-232, 2).

² The Death of Ajax and Adventures of Odysseus, Diomedes, and Agamemnon (Mal. 114, 1-122, 7; Ekl. 208, 2-216, 2).

ceding account of the Siege of Troy by an equally ingenious contrivance. The Salaminian Teucer, on his return to Troy to bear aid to his brother Ajax, finds Ajax already dead and buried by Pyrrhos. A repast is thereupon prepared, and a dialogue ensues in which Teucer relates to the enquiring Pyrrhos those earlier events of the war that were of more particular interest to Pyrrhos both because they largely concerned his father Achilles and because they occurred prior to Pyrrhos' arrival in Troy from Scyros (viz., Hector's Death and Ransom, the battles with Penthesilea and Memnon, and Achilles' Death).

That these two dialogues can be referred neither, as Dunger maintains (p. 28), to Malalas' invention, nor, as Haupt claims (p. 115), to a Sisyphos-chronicle, is evident from the fact that they contain no incidents not recorded in the Dictys-annals of Septimius and Kedrenos (Eph. III, 1-4, 21; Kedr. 229, 5-232, 2; Eph. VI, 22; V, 1-13; Kedr. 229, 5-232, 2), their only distinguishing feature being found in the fact that they relate in dramatic form what these other Dictys-versions relate in simple, epic fashion.¹ On the other hand, that these two dialogues cannot, as the portraits, be held to have stood in the original Dictys is evident from the fact that they seriously disturb the continuity of Dictys' history by deferring until after the Destruction of Troy those events of the Siege and Capture of Troy that naturally belong before it. We must consequently assume that the text of Dictys reproduced by Malalas was not the original text but a later redaction in which the events of the Siege and Capture of Troy had already become displaced from their original position and reserved for subsequent insertion in the

¹ Thus, as a conspicuous instance of the close agreement between the events recorded by Malalas in his first dialogue and by Septimius and Kedrenos in their plain epic fashion, compare the account of Paris' discomfiture at the hands of Philoctetes (Eph. IV, 19; Mal. 110, 21-111, 2; Ekl. 206, 2-6; Kedr. 228, 19 ff.) where all these narratives agree in the very explicit statement that Philoctetes wounded Paris, first, in the left hand, secondly, in the right eye, and, thirdly, in both ankles; also, in the second dialogue, Malalas' close reproduction of the circumstantial story of how Priam, accompanied by Andromache, with her two sons, Astyanax and Laodamos, and by Polyzena, comes to claim the dead body of Hector (Mal. 123, 20-125, 3; Ekl. 217, 4-218, 6).

two dialogues, of Ajax and Ulysses, and Teucer and Pyrrhos.¹ Further confirmation of the validity of this assumption and a possible reason for the above-mentioned change in disposition is to be found in the presence in Malalas of indications of still further alterations in the version of Dictys which he reproduced. Thus, at the very outset of his history of Dictys, Malalas proposes the subject of the Trojan War only to dismiss it in the following summary fashion: ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λαομεδόντος] βασιλείᾳ τότε καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον καὶ τὸ Δάρδανον καὶ ἡ Τροία καὶ πάσα ἡ χώρα τῆς Φρυγίας πορθεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν [Mal. 91, 2-4; Ekl. 197, 8-10].² Thereupon, however, he suddenly reconsiders his evident determination to omit an account of the Trojan War and, after alluding to the Rape of Helen (as the prime cause of the war) and giving her portrait, forthwith enters upon his annals of Dictys. These he reproduces, in general accord with other versions, until he reaches the end of the Ship-catalogue. Here again he gives, with equal abruptness, a second brief recapitulation of the Capture of Troy (Mal. 108, 9-15, Ekl. 204, 12-16), and we again expect the conclusion of his history. But once more he changes his mind and resumes his story as before. This time, however, it is not with the simple Dictaeon narrative that he continues, but with the first of the two dialogues, which, as we have seen, exhibit the inverted (or episodic) order of narration. For he resumes, not at the point where he had left off, viz. at the Ship-catalogue, but at

¹ That an earlier redactor of Dictys, and not Malalas, is to be held responsible for the alterations in question may be confidently assumed not only from the absence of any such rearrangement in other portions of Malalas' annals of Dictys, but also from the fact that Malalas, as the author of a world chronicle, was, like his later Byzantine followers, primarily concerned not with the composition of particular chapters upon the history of Troy or any other subject, but only with such a selection and close reproduction of existing sources as would enable him to meet the requirements of his extensive subject at the least possible labor and inconvenience to himself. It is therefore impossible to suppose that in the present instance Malalas would have gone to the expense of rearranging in an involved and intricate web the materials that stood before him in the straightforward, epic narrative of Dictys.

² Where, as here, and, generally, elsewhere, the wording of Ekloge differs only in insignificant details from the Oxford Malalas, quotations are made from the latter, not the former.

the point to which his recapitulation has brought him, viz. the departure of the Greeks from Troy (Mal. 108, 18 ; Ekl. 204, 27-29), and must, therefore, continue with a retrospective account of those events of the Siege and Capture of Troy that he has previously omitted to relate in their proper connection. This he proceeds to give in his Dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus (Palladion-strife). At the end of this first dialogue, however, he drops the inverted mode of narration, reverts to the simple epic style he had hitherto employed, and relates in normal Dictaeon sequence the subsequent course of events, opening with the Death of Ajax and ending with the Death of Odysseus (Mal. 114, 2-122, 7 ; Ekl. 208, 8-216, 2 = Eph. V, 16-VI, 2 ; Kedr. 232, 8-234, 8). At this point, however, he once more reverts to his changed, dramatic order of recital, and in his second dialogue (between Teucer and Pyrrhos), resumes the account of those earlier events of the Siege that he had left untouched in the preceding dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus.¹ Finally, at the end of this dialogue, he once more returns to the simple Dictaeon style and concludes his Trojan history with an account of the Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20 ; Ekl. 222, 16-226, 31 = Eph. VI, 3 ; 4 ; 13 ; Kedr. 234, 18-237, 21). What conclusions may now be gathered from these numerous resumptions and inversions that constitute so extraordinary a feature of Malalas? It is, we believe, obvious that the author of the Dictys-recension followed by Malalas originally intended to dispense so far as possible with a prolonged reproduction of the Dictaeon story of Troy ; hence his two brief dismissals of the subject, first, at the opening of his history, and secondly, at the end of the Ship-catalogue (naturally a tedious subject). At this point, however, the earlier recensionist conceived the idea of employing the brief dialogue between Ajax

¹ Namely, those earlier events of the Siege which, as we have seen, preceded the arrival of Pyrrhos from Scyros. Thus the two dialogues sustain an inverted but complimentary relation to one another. The earlier dialogue could, necessarily, contain only those later events of the Siege in which, after the death of Achilles, Ajax and Odysseus played a conspicuous part ; the later dialogue, those earlier events in which Achilles played a principal rôle and of which, by reason of his absence, Pyrrhos was ignorant.

and Odysseus, already present in the original Dictæan account of the Palladion-strife (as shown by its appearance in Sept., V, 14 and Kedrenos, 232, 3-8), as a means of summarizing these event of the Siege and Capture of Troy which, as we have seen, were originally related separately and with due epic elaboration. He accordingly reconsiders his previous determination and recapitulates in dialogue-form those events of the later portion of the Siege and of the Capture of Troy in which Ajax and Odysseus were found to play a particularly conspicuous part. Into this Palladion-dialogue he could not, however, introduce an account of the subsequent fortunes of Ajax and Odysseus and so, for this purpose, he again returns to the original Dictæan account of the Death of Ajax and the Adventures of Odysseus¹ (Mal. 114, 2-122, 7; Ekl. 208, 8-216, 2 = Eph. V, 15, 16; VI, 5, 6, 14, 15; Kedr. 232, 8-233, 22). At this point he recollects that he has not yet related those earlier events of the Siege of Troy in which Achilles, rather than Ajax and Odysseus, had been the prime participant. Here, however, he is again confronted with the same difficulty as in the preceding dialogue, viz., that these events occurred long before the point of time to which his narrative has now brought him; hence these events as well, must be introduced episodically, in the form of a dialogue. Now the person to whom the deeds of Achilles would prove of most interest is, of course, his son Pyrrhos, who had not arrived in Troy, from Scyros, until after his father's death (Eph. IV, 15; Mal. 104, 14; J. of A., ed. Heinrich, p. 9, 5). The next question to settle was, obviously, who should act the part of informant? According to Dictys, Pyrrhos learned the story of his father's exploits from the Greeks whom he met on his arrival (Eph. IV, 15). But it is evident that the redactor can make use of no such device, because he has already stated that, save for Pyrrhos, who has remained to bury his cousin Ajax (Mal. 122, 9-11; Ekl. 216, 12-15), all the Greeks have sailed for home (Mal. 122, 8;

¹ To which he adds, as naturally suggested by community of theme, a brief recapitulation of the Return of Diomedes and Agamemnon (Mal. 122, 2-7; Ekl. 216, 6-12 = Eph. VI, 2; Kedr. 234, 12-17; 233, 23-234, 8).

Ekl. 216, 12). It is, therefore, obviously necessary to recall one of these Greeks and make him the informant of Pyrrhos¹; and the one chosen for the purpose is Teucer. The reason for Teucer's selection is not far to seek and betrays that the pre-Malalean re-censionist was, as in the preceding dialogue, operating upon the basis of a suggestion in his Dictys-original. Septimius relates that Teucer, on his arrival in Salamis, had been banished from home by his father Telamon because he had neglected to support his brother Ajax in the Palladion-strife with Odysseus (Eph. VI, 2) and that he afterwards went to Cyprus where he built for himself a new Salamis (Eph. VI, 4). Now we learn from Malalas (Mal. 122, 12-14; Ekl. 216, 16-17) that it was from this Cyprian Salamis that Teucer returned to Troy and that his purpose in doing so was to "bear aid to his brother Ajax." From this striking coincidence we may infer that in the original Dictys, as in Septimius, Teucer was banished from home because he had neglected to support his brother Ajax in the Palladion-strife, and that our redactor, in his desire to provide a motive for Teucer's reappearance in Troy, was thence led to the idea of a penitential pilgrimage whereby Teucer might at length discharge his long deferred duty to his brother. Further evidence that such were the reasons for the choice of Teucer as Pyrrhos' interlocutor may be found in the fact that Teucer and Pyrrhos are cousins (Mal. 113, 17; 122, 10-11; Ekl. 207, 27; 216, 12-15), that, in Teucer's absence, Pyrrhos had espoused the cause of Ajax (Mal. 113, 16-18; Ekl. 207, 26) and had since buried his dead body (Mal. 122, 9-11; Ekl. 216, 18), and that Teucer, on his arrival, warmly commends Pyrrhos' devoted discharge of functions for which he had, apparently, held himself responsible (Mal. 122, 16; Ekl. 216, 19).²

¹ Who, it is to be noted, desires more exact news of the fortunes of his father (Mal. 123, 1-3; Ekl., 216, 22-24).

² In providing this motive for the meeting and dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, our pre-Malalean redactor did not, however, escape certain rather serious incongruities. Thus, as Noack has pointed out (p. 444), it is by no means obvious how Teucer, who, according to Malalas (Mal. 108, 19 ff. : Ekl. 204, 25 ff.), had only recently left Troy (viz. immediately before the Palladion-strife) can have had time to go home, suffer banishment, found a new city and return again to Troy in the very short space of time that elapsed between the Palladion-dialogue and the burial of Ajax, which occurred immediately thereafter and which is the only pretext for Pyrrhos' delay in Troy.

Having thus again obtained in his Dictys-original the desired setting for this second dialogue, the redactor allows Teucer to communicate to Pyrrhos that earlier and complementary portion ^{e?} of the story of Troy that comprises the exploits in which Achilles played a chief rôle. At the end of the dialogue, the redactor again and for the last time returns to the simple Dictæan order of narration and completes his reproduction of Dictys with a recital of the Adventures of Orestes and Aeneas (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20 ; 167, 7-169, 3 ; Ekl. 221, 25-226, 31).¹ Thus, from the foregoing analysis of Malalas, it is, we believe, clear that some further scribe, intermediary between Malalas and the Greek Dictys, introduced, ^s apparently for purposes of brevity, and no doubt, as well, from a desire to enliven the somewhat prosaic records of his original, two highly dramatic dialogues, accordant in all essential respects with his original, and at all events composed of materials extracted not from a supposititious Sisypchos-chronicle, but from the original Dictys. What further innovation may also be laid to his account will be seen in the course of our consideration of the third and most striking incidents with respect to which Malalas differs from the Latin Septimius.

The most pronounced feature with respect to which Malalas differs from Septimius remains yet to be considered and consists in his repeated ~~allusions~~ ^{references} to a certain Sisypchos of Cos for particulars which, by reason of these allusions, have been held by certain scholars ² to represent the remains in Malalas of a second, (non-Dictæan chronicle, namely, a lost Sisypchos-chronicle. To

¹ In some such manner as this, although not necessarily after the exact plan outlined, we may imagine that a pre-Malalean redactor recast the original story of Dictys and thus furnished the essential basis of the altered version of Dictys that we read in Malalas. That he very probably was not himself the sole originator of the dialogues, but found a hint for them either in a still earlier Dictys-redaction or, more probably, in some other allied history, is rendered probable by the temporal confusion involved in the hasty recall of Teucer. However he may have been led to introduce his alterations, two things are clear : first, that he and not Malalas made the change (cf. p. 56, note 1), and, secondly, that he derived the matter of his dialogues, not from Sisypchos, but from Dictys.

² Meister (Preface to ed. of Dictys, 1872, p. x) ; Haupt (Philol., XL, 1881, 114 ff.) ; Greif (op. cit., 1886, pp. 181 ff.) ; and Patzig (Byz. Ze., I, 1892, 141 ff.) ; and Greif (op. cit., 1900, pp. 9 ff.).

this Sisyphos-section of Malalas belong three episodes for which the authority of Sisyphos is expressly adduced. These are (1) the account of Odysseus' Adventures with the Cyclops (Mal. 114, 18-116, 23; Ekl. 208, 16-209, 30), for which Sisyphos alone is cited: *ἅτινα ὁ σοφώτατος Σίσυφος ὁ Κῶος ἐξέθετο* (Mal. 117, 1; Ekl. 209, 30); (2) with Circe (Mal. 117, 19-119, 22; Ekl. 210, 15-212, 7), for which Sisyphos is cited in company with Dictys: *περὶ ἧς Κίρκης ἐξέθεντο ταῦτα οἱ σοφώτατοι Σίσυφος ὁ Κῶος καὶ Δίκτυς ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης* (Mal. 119, 22; Ekl. 212, 7); and (3) the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos (Mal. 122, 7-132, 16; Ekl. 216, 16-221, 24), for which and for the events recorded therein Sisyphos and Dictys are again conjointly cited: *ταῦτα δὲ Σίσυφος ὁ Κῶος συνεγράψατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπάρχων σὺν τῷ Τεύκρῳ . . . ἅτινα καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Δίκτυος ἐμφέρεται συγγραφαῖς κτλ.* (Mal. 132, 19; Ekl. 221, 16). Now in explanation of these references by Malalas to a second author, Sisyphos, not mentioned by Septimius, the advocates of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris, in order to sustain their theory that Malalas derived his Dictys-materials from Septimius, maintain that Malalas here followed, in addition to Septimius, a second author Sisyphos and that it was from Sisyphos that he derived a large portion of his history of the Trojan war. By reason of the fact that this theory of a separate Sisyphos chronicle has, in one form or another, taken a firm hold upon the minds of a large number of critics (even, in the case of Patzig, invading the ranks of the champions of a Greek Dictys), and that not without a certain specious semblance of reason, it will be best to devote some little attention to a consideration of the bases upon which this theory has been constructed, that we may be in a better position to undertake its more complete refutation.

The Sisyphos-theory is presented in its earliest and least extreme form by Haupt (op. cit., 1881, pp. 114 ff.), who, taking a hint from Malalas' representation of Sisyphos as a Trojan annalist (Mal. 132, 19; Ekl. 221, 16), proceeds upon the assumption that we have to do in Malalas with two distinct chronicles, a Dictys-chronicle, in which Malalas reproduces Septimius, and a Sisyphos-chronicle, in which Malalas follows a second pre-Homeric historian, Sisyphos of Cos. Haupt's argument is as follows. Malalas (Mal.

132, 19; Ekl. 221, 16) and still more explicitly Tzetzes (Chil., V, 829 ff.), who calls Sisypheos Teucer's scribe (*γραμματεὺς*), express themselves in terms that imply that Teucer was the actual author and Sisypheos merely the editor of the annals that bear his name. For this reason all those portions of Malalas in which Teucer plays a conspicuous rôle belong, not to Dictys, but to Sisypheos. Such are, in the first instance, the important Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos (for which, as we have seen, the authority of Sisypheos is cited), and, in the second instance, the account of the appointment of Teucer as leader of the Forays in place of the deposed Achilles (Mal. 101, 19–102, 9; Ekl. 203, 12–24).¹

Now on the basis of these two Teucer incidents Haupt proceeds to attribute to Sisypheos a large number of other incidents in Malalas in which, though devoid of reference either to Teucer or to Sisypheos, he discerns evidence of kinship to the Teucer-incidents under consideration. Thus, by reason of structural resemblance to the Teucer and Pyrrhos Dialogue, Haupt ascribes to Sisypheos the earlier dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus. To Sisypheos likewise belongs that entire account of the Greek Forays (Mal. 99, 13–103, 7; Ekl. 202, 4–204, 7) which has as its nucleus the deposition of Achilles in favor of Teucer. Now, in the midst of these Forays, are interspersed Portraits of the captives Glaucus, Diomedes, etc., which betray in their presentation of exact specification with regard to age, height, and complexion an evident connection with the later Portraits of the Greek heroes and heroines in which these same characteristics reappear. Hence, Haupt assigns the portraits, one and all, to Sisypheos, and further regards as a characteristic peculiarity of that author a fondness for precise and often grotesque detail.² Moreover, since these qualities of

¹ Malalas rejects the traditional Homeric story of Achilles' Wrath (reproduced by Septimius and Kedrenos) and relates instead that Achilles was deprived of command because he had, in violation of a previous agreement, secretly kept Briseis in his tent and refused to bring her forth as a portion of the booty to be distributed among the army.

² Haupt finds further confirmation of the validity of his ascription of the Portraits to Sisypheos (1) in the presence in those portions of Malalas for which Sisypheos is cited of brief personal descriptions of Cyclops (Mal. 115, 8) and of Circe (Mal. 118, 1), and (2) in the absence in Malalas, as contrasted with Dares

precise and grotesque detail reappear in an earlier portrait of Helen (Mal. 91, 8–11)¹ and a similar touch of the bizarre in the notion of a letter from Clytemnestra to Helen (Mal. 79, 5–9; Ekl. 199, 32 ff.), Haupt also ascribes to Sisypchos the entire intervening episode of the Rape of Helen (Mal. 93, 23–95, 21; Ekl. 198, 3–199, 16). Thus, on the basis of alleged resemblance in treatment to the two episodes in which Teucer is brought upon the scene of action, Haupt detaches from Dictys and assigns to Sisypchos by far the greater portion of Malalas' History of the Trojan War (including not only the incidents already mentioned, but also the Youth of Paris and a variety of other incidents).² However, inasmuch as two of the three incidents for which the authority of Sisypchos is cited, viz., Odysseus' Adventures with Circe and the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, are ascribed likewise to Dictys and inasmuch as all the Malalean episodes (save the Portraits³) in which Haupt detects the hand of Sisypchos recur, as we shall see, in Septimius, Haupt contents himself with the conservative opinion that Sisypchos was not the original creator of the chronicle that bears his name, but merely an imitator of the earlier Dictys-chronicle, which Haupt

(Cap. XIII), and as remarked by Isaak Porphyrogenitos (84, 23), of a portrait of Ajax Telamon, the brother of Sisypchos' master Teucer. For the absence in the Oxford text of any allusion to Sisypchos in connection with the Portraits, Haupt accounts on the theory that such an allusion stood in the lost Malalas-original, but dropt out in the lacuna (Dindorf, p. 103), alleging in support of his contention the fact that the foregoing passage (Chil., V, 829 ff.), in which Tzetzes refers not only to Dictys but also to Sisypchos, immediately follows the Discoveries of Palamedes (Chil., V, 804–812), introduced by Malalas in his portrait of that hero (Mal. 103, 11 ff.), which, as we have seen (p. 29, note 2), stands, with Malalas' other Portraits, immediately before his Dictys-citation (Mal. 107, 1 ff.).

¹ That, as Greif has pointed out (1900, p. 11), Malalas' early portrait of Helen, introduced before the opening of the Youth of Paris, has become displaced from its original Dictaeon position and properly belongs in Malalas' account of the Rape of Helen (95, 5) is shown by its appearance in Kedrenos' account of the same event (217, 19 ff.).

² Description of the Palladion, Adventures of Telegonos, and other incidents, which Haupt more often allots to Sisypchos less from any detected resemblance to Teucer-episodes than from an inability to account otherwise for the presence in Malalas of details lacking in Septimius.

³ Which, by reason of their absence in Septimius, Haupt regards as the invention of Sisypchos.

regards as the sole invention of the Latin Septimius. By thus conceding the priority of the Dictys-chronicle, Haupt is to be regarded as an advocate of the Sisypchos-theory only in its mildest form.

A second and more radical development of the Sisypchos-theory is that entertained by Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 1892, 141 ff.; Byz. Zs. II, 1893, 430), who, as a champion of the Greek Dictys, might least be expected to uphold the claims of a rival author.¹ Nevertheless Patzig assumes this position and in a form, strange to say, even more extreme and aggressive than that maintained by Haupt. For Patzig not only upholds the existence of a separate Sisypchos-chronicle, but even goes so far as to maintain, in opposition to Haupt, that Sisypchos antedated Dictys, and that the Dictys' annals, though written prior to Septimius by a Greek author, were, at the same time, fashioned upon the earlier model of Sisypchos. The steps by which Patzig is led to this highly-involved conclusion are as follows. It is, he believes, evident that the two Dialogues of Malalas and the intervening account of the Adventures of Odysseus, occupying in all twenty-four pages, form a connected whole structurally alien to the remainder of Malalas' History of the Trojan War.² Now, this structural whole of mutually related parts exhibits evidence of greater antiquity and of greater constructive excellence than the corresponding portions of Septimius. Evidence of greater antiquity Patzig finds (1) in Malalas' statement, at the end of the second dialogue, that "Sisypchos wrote before the times of Homer and Virgil, whereas Dictys was not discovered until long afterwards, in the reign of Claudius" (Mal. 132, 19 ff.; Ekl. 221, 16 ff.), (2) in the fact that in both passages in which Malalas cites Sisypchos and Dictys conjointly Sisypchos is invariably placed first (vid. supra, p. 61), and (3) in the presentation, in the two dialogues, of leading characters

¹ Patzig's views are afterwards adopted, without substantial modification, by Fürst (Philol., LX, 1901, 244 ff.).

² The Adventures of Odysseus form, according to Patzig (Byz. Zs., I, 143), the connecting link between the preceding dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus and the following dialogue in which, as in the Adventures of Odysseus, a Sisypchos-citation appears.

of the war as relating the chief events thereof in their own persons, as contradistinguished from the undramatic form in which these events are recorded by Septimius. Evidence of superior constructive excellence in the section under consideration he detects in the fact that Malalas brings his account of the Death of Hecuba and of the giving over of the sons of Ajax to Teucer (Mal. 132, 11-14) into "much better harmony" with the encompassing narrative than Septimius (V. 15, 16), who leaves these events without obvious relation to the context in which they occur.¹

Thus from alleged indications of greater antiquity and of superior construction Patzig regards the two dialogues and the intervening account of the Adventures of Odysseus as representing the remains in Malalas of a chronicle earlier and more perfect than the Dictys-chronicle. As regards, however, the amount of material in Malalas that may be ascribed to Sisypchos, Patzig holds a much more conservative opinion than Haupt and claims for Sisypchos only the three episodes above-mentioned, in each of which the authority of Sisypchos is expressly adduced. Those further incidents in Malalas for which Sisypchos is not cited but which Haupt had claimed for that author, either on the strength of the rôle ascribed Teucer or on that of alleged resemblance to incidents in which Sisypchos is introduced, Patzig denies to Sisypchos and claims for Dictys. For he finds that all those portions of Malalas that either precede or follow the two Sisypchos-dialogues occur under Dictys-citations either in Suidas, John of Antioch, or Malalas. Thus the Youth of Paris and Rape of Helen are shown to be Dic-

¹In his assertion with regard to the Death of Hecuba, which occurs not in Malalas but in Kedrenos, Patzig has reference to the fact that Kedrenos (223, 13-16), in his representation of Hecuba as slain by the companions of Odysseus, presents agreement with an earlier Dictæan statement (Eph. V, 13), that Odysseus had received Hecuba at the taking of Troy; whereas Septimius (V, 16) so far contradicts his earlier statement as to represent Hecuba as not slain until after the departure of Odysseus ("post abscessum Ulixi"). As regards the giving over of the sons of Ajax to Teucer, Patzig, for some unaccountable reason, regards this incident as better provided for by Malalas (Mal. 132, 11-14), who represents Teucer as receiving the sons of his brother Ajax at the end of his dialogue with Pyrrhos, than by Septimius (V, 15), who relates that Teucer was still present in Troy at the time of his brother's death and received his sons on the spot and without the mediation of Pyrrhos.

taean both by the evident backward reference of the word *προγεγραμμένα*, used by Malalas in his principal Dictys-citation (Mal. 107, 1-11), and by the testimony of Suidas, who in his Lexicon (sub. *Δίκτυς*) expressly cites Dictys as authority for the Rape of Helen: *Δίκτυς ἔγραψε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς Ἑλένης*; the Greek Forays, by allusions made to Dictys in connection with this episode by Eklogarius (Ekl. 201, 28-29) and by John of Antioch (frag. 24, 5); the Portraits, by the immediately subjoined Dictys-citation in Malalas (Mal. 107, 1-11)¹; and, finally, the entire account of the Return of the Greeks, by the constant references to Dictys found in connection therewith both in Malalas and in Septimius.² Accordingly, Patzig claims for Sisypheos only that middle section in which Malalas relates in dialogue-form the story of the Siege and Capture of Troy; the rest belongs to Dictys.

As regards now the relation that the Sisypheos-material of Malalas bears to the Dictys-material of Septimius, Patzig holds, in opposition to Haupt, that the Dictys-fable was not the creation of the Roman Septimius, but that it was written prior to Septimius by a Greek author. Evidence of this Greek Dictys Patzig discovers, with Noack, in the presence in (the Dictaeon portions of)

¹ Thus Patzig rejects Haupt's contention (vid., p. 62) that Malalas derived his Portraits from Sisypheos, and regards the passage in which, after his account of the Discoveries of Palamedes, Tzetzes introduces a joint allusion to Sisypheos and Dictys (vid., p. 30, note 2), as a reproduction not of Malalas' portrait-citation (Mal. 107, 1 ff.), but of the later citation (Mal. 132, 19 ff.; Ekl. 221, 16 ff.) in which, as we have seen (p. 31, note 1), Malalas likewise makes joint allusion to both authors.

² In Malalas' account of the Return of the Greeks Patzig finds indubitable evidence of a well-sustained and closely interwoven Dictys-fable. For he finds that in this concluding portion of his history Malalas agrees with Septimius in making repeated references to the way in which Dictys obtained his circumstantial account of the return of the various Greeks to their several homes. Thus Malalas refers to Dictys (1) as authority for the arrival of Odysseus in Crete and his subsequent entertainment by Idomeneus, to whom he relates the adventures that have thus far befallen him (Mal. 122, 1; Ekl. 210, 11); (2) as having received information with regard to the closing events of Odysseus' life from certain dream interpreters in Sparta (Ekl. 216, 4); and (3) as authority for the Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 135, 12). In like manner, Septimius in his sixth book makes no fewer than four distinct references to the way in which Dictys gained his information with regard to the Return of the Greeks (cf. pp. 100, 102).

Ekloge and in Kedrenos of a "plus" incapable of derivation from the Latin Ephemeris (cf. pp. 48 ff.). Further evidence to the same effect he finds in the fact that Malalas gives a much fuller version than Septimius of many of the incidents that lie outside of the above-mentioned zone of Sisyphos-matter.¹ Consequently, Patzig concludes that a Greek Dictys contained by far the greater portion of those incidents that Haupt had ascribed to Sisyphos and that the only reason why these incidents are less completely represented in Septimius than in Malalas is because Septimius in his translation of the Greek Dictys condensed what Malalas reproduced in full.² However, in view of the fact that the contents of the Sisyphos-portions of Malalas recur, as we shall see (pp. 72 ff.), in Septimius and Kedrenos, Patzig holds that the author of the Greek Dictys used the (earlier) Sisyphos as his model, merely transforming the Sisyphos-fable of his original into a Dictys-fable of his own by the omission of the two dialogues and the addition of an exclusively Dictaeon account of the Return of the Greeks. Finally, Malalas derived his two dialogues and the interposed account of the Adventures of Odysseus from the Sisyphos-chronicle; the remainder of his history from the Greek Dictys.³

¹As, for example, the Rape of Helen (Mal. 93, 23-95, 21; Ekl. 198, 3-199, 16), in which Malalas gives a number of details omitted by Septimius, such as the precise date of Paris' departure for Greece, the number of companions he took with him, and an exact inventory of the plunder he carried home with Helen; the Greek Forays (Mal. 99, 13-103, 7; Ekl. 203, 4-204, 7), in which Malalas (Mal. 101, 2-102, 11; Ekl. 202, 29-203, 9) gives a more circumstantial account of the capture of Briseis than Septimius (II, 17); the Adventures of Telegonos (Ekl. 215, 32-216, 5), in which Malalas relates with much more fulness than Septimius (VI, 5) the story of Odysseus' dream and the consequent banishment of Telemachos; and the Adventures of Orestes (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20; Ekl. 222, 16-226, 31), in which, among other things, Malalas gives an account of Orestes' trial, absent in Septimius (VI, 4).

²Thus Patzig finds evidence in the expressions "*ea . . . Latine disserere*" and "*non magis confisi ingenio quam*" etc., used by Septimius in his epistle, that Septimius gave, in his translation, a free abridgment not only of the last, but also, though to a lesser extent, of the first five books of his Greek original.

³Attention should here be called to the fact that the foregoing analysis of the views of Patzig is based upon the theory set forth in his earlier articles (Byz. Zs., I, 1892, 141 ff.; Byz. Zs., II, 1893, 430). In two later articles (Byz. Zs., XI, 1902, 158, and Byz. Zs., XII, 1903, 231 ff.) Patzig retracts his earlier opinion

Finally, the latest and most extreme form of the Sisyphos theory is that held by Greif (*Die mittelalt. Bearb. d. Trojanersage*, 1886, pp. 181 ff., and, again, *Neue Untersuch. zur Dictys- u. Daresfrage*, 1900, pp. 9-15), who not only affirms with Patzig that Sisyphos preceded Dictys but so far oversteps the view of that critic as to maintain that no Greek Dictys ever existed and that those pre-Septimian annals of Troy that certain critics are pleased to style the Greek Dictys were at no time other than the annals of Sisyphos. For the conception and composition of Dictys' annals, Septimius, like Patzig's Greek Dictys, was himself solely responsible; nevertheless, Septimius, in his creation of the Dictys-fable, did not, as Haupt had claimed, act entirely on his own initiative, but used the earlier Sisyphos as his model. It is, for this reason, not merely in Malalas, but quite as much in Sisyphos' imitator Septimius, that indications are to be sought with regard to the original constitution of the Sisyphos-chronicle and its subsequent transformation into the Latin chronicle of Dictys. Now the way in which Septimius proceeded to transform Sisyphos' annals devoted to the celebration of Teucer into Dictys' annals in

with regard to the relation which the Sisyphos and Dictys chronicles sustain to one another and maintains that Dictys was, after all, the earlier chronicle and that Sisyphos was written in imitation of Dictys, not the reverse. Patzig's reasons for this complete change of opinion are as follows. The two Sisyphos-dialogues are panegyric in character and the heroes introduced pronounce eulogies, either upon themselves, as in the case of Ajax and Odysseus, or upon others, as in the case of Teucer, who eulogizes Achilles, the father of his interlocutor, Pyrrhos, and his own brother Ajax. To this especial encomiastic purpose of the dialogues are to be ascribed various minor differences in treatment that exist between the contents of these dialogues and the corresponding portions of Septimius. Thus Teucer avoids the Dictæan representation of Achilles as secretly planning with Hector a treacherous surrender of the Greeks (*Eph.*, III, 3) by deferring the commencement of his dialogue until after the Death of Hector (*Eph.*, III, 15). Similarly Teucer introduces, in praise of his brother Ajax, the non-Septimian particular that Ajax brought back Achilles' dead body on his shoulders from the temple of Apollo to the Greek camp (*Mal.* 110, 1; *Ekl.* 221, 11). Likewise, in the first dialogue, Odysseus claims sole credit for Philoctetes' victory over Paris (*Mal.* 110, 12-22; *Ekl.* 205, 20-206, 6) on the ground that he had urged the Greek warrior to challenge Paris to single combat, had measured distance for the combatants, and encouraged Philoctetes during the encounter; whereas in Septimius (IV, 19) Odysseus plays merely the disinterested part of umpire.

honor of Idomeneus is traced by Greif as follows. Malalas, it is to be observed, frequently couples Teucer (and his brother Ajax) with Idomeneus (and his brother-in-arms Meriones). This frequent coupling of Teucer (or Ajax) now with Idomeneus and now with Meriones reappears in Septimius. Thus, just as in Malalas Achilles is deposed in favor of Teucer, the brother of Ajax, and Idomeneus (Mal. 102, 8-9; Ekl. 203, 21-22), so in Septimius the first Greek leaders to arrive at Argos are Ajax and his brother Teucer, Idomeneus and Meriones (Eph. I, 13); as in Malalas Teucer and Meriones oppose the Amazon archers, Idomeneus, the centre (Mal. 126, 7-10; Ekl. 218, 17-20), so in Septimius Teucer and Meriones, who excel with the bow (Eph. III, 1), likewise confront the bowmen of the enemy (Eph. IV, 2). But as regards the rôle played by Idomeneus, it is to be especially noted that Septimius not infrequently differs from Malalas. For whereas in Malalas Idomeneus is chosen to replace Achilles, in Septimius he is charged with the quite different task of dividing the spoils (Eph. II, 19); whereas in Malalas (Mal. 126, 10; Ekl. 218, 20) Idomeneus opposes the Amazon centre, he appears in Septimius only in the subsequent battle with Memnon (Eph. IV, 6); and whereas, finally, in Malalas Idomeneus accompanies Priam to Achilles' tent (Mal. 124, 8-10; Ekl. 217, 13-15), in Septimius he is preoccupied with the assignment of prizes (Eph. III, 19). This relation of general agreement between Malalas and Septimius as respects the association of Teucer and Idomeneus, but of marked divergence in the treatment of Idomeneus, is thus interpreted by Greif. Malalas here represents the original condition of the Sisyphos-chronicle, from which he derived the greater portion of his history of Troy. Septimius, on the contrary, undertook to construct on the basis of this Sisyphos-chronicle a new, Dictys-chronicle, in which the centre of interest should be shifted from Sisyphos and his master Teucer to Dictys and his lord Idomeneus. In effecting this transformation Septimius retained, for the ~~main~~ part, the close relation between Teucer and Idomeneus ~~no~~ found in his Sisyphos-original, but, at the same time, in order to disguise his indebtedness to the earlier author, intentionally assigned his own lord Idomeneus a somewhat different rôle from

that in which he appears in *Sisyphos*.¹ Finally, as regards the relative proportion of *Sisyphos* and *Dictys* material in *Malalas*, Greif maintains that *Malalas* derived the larger portion of his history of Troy directly from *Sisyphos*²; from the (transformed) *Dictys*-chronicle of *Septimius*, only that small portion which stands under *Dictys*-citations and in which his resemblance to the Latin author is most striking.³

¹ Greif moreover maintains (1900, p. 33) that *Septimius* did not construct his *Dictys*-annals on the sole basis of *Sisyphos*, but used, in addition, a second fabulous author *Korinnos*, mentioned by *Suidas* in his *Lexicon* (sub *Kοριννος*) as scribe to *Palamedes*. Evidence of the use of this second author Greif finds in the presence of frequent allusions to *Palamedes* in portions of *Septimius* either lacking or otherwise treated by *Malalas*. Thus *Septimius* in his account of the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* (I, 19) represents *Palamedes* as chosen to replace *Agamemnon* in command and again, a little later, gives (II, 14-15) an account of the death and virtues of that hero in which reference is made to his extreme popularity with the army. Now at the opening of the account of the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* (I, 19) occurs the first of a series of instances in which, as we have seen (p. 13, note 1), *Septimius*, as though at pains to maintain the attitude of a conscientious historian, offers alternative explanations of the occurrence of supernatural phenomena. Thus immediately before mentioning the choice of *Palamedes* in place of *Agamemnon*, *Septimius* leaves it uncertain whether the pestilence at *Aulis* was due to celestial displeasure (*irane caelesti*) or to the pollution of the atmosphere by dead bodies (*ob mutationem aëris corpibus pertemptatis*). Accordingly, on the basis of this practice of giving alternative explanations of the origin of miraculous occurrences, which he regards as a stylistic feature peculiar to *Korinnos*, Greif ascribes to that author not only the two foregoing incidents in which reference is made to *Palamedes*, but also other incidents in *Septimius*, lacking or otherwise treated in *Malalas*, in which the same device recurs, viz., the Wrath of *Achilles* (II, 28, 30-34, 48-52); the story of the Phœnician *Phallas* (IV, 4) and of the fate that overtook *Himera*, the mother of *Memnon* (VI, 10). Finally, Greif assigns to *Korinnos* the account of the second meeting between *Achilles* and *Polyzēna* (III, 27) by reason of contradiction between this and an earlier meeting (III, 1), in which, as in *Malalas* (130, 8; Ekl. 220, 12), reference is made to the Thymbrian, not, as in the story of *Palamedes* (II, 14), to the Sminthian *Apollo*. These several passages Greif accordingly regards as constituting the remains in *Septimius* of a special *Korinnos*-recital, devoted to the celebration of *Palamedes*, as contrasted with the *Sisyphos*-chronicle, devoted to the celebration of *Teucer*.

² Thus, on the basis of alleged resemblance to incidents for which the authority of *Sisyphos* is cited, Greif, like Haupt, extends to *Sisyphos*, the Youth of *Paris*, Rape of *Helen*, Greek Forays, Portraits and other incidents unaccompanied by *Sisyphos*-citations.

³ Greif's conclusions as regards the extent to which *Malalas* may be supposed to have derived the materials for his Trojan War from *Septimius* suffer from the

We thus see how it has come about that two critics of hostile camps, Patzig, a champion of the Greek Dictys, and Greif, an advocate of the originality of the Latin Ephemeris, have been led by the influence of Haupt's Sisyphean-theory to moderate the intensity of their traditional animosities and through mutual concessions, involving, on the one hand, the abandonment of the priority of the Greek, on the other, of the Latin Dictys, to agree in the claim that Sisyphean of Cos is to be regarded as the original creator of pre-Homeric annals of the Trojan War. It cannot, however, be denied that so sudden a rapprochement on the part of advocates of rival theories has about it something suspiciously fortuitous. In what follows we shall endeavor to show (1) that the materials that Haupt and Greif claim for Sisyphean belong, for the most part, to Dictys, and (2) that Dictys, and not Patzig's Sisyphean, is to be regarded as the original author of pre-Homeric annals of Troy.

In the first place, we maintain that only those passages for which the authority of Sisyphean is expressly adduced can be ascribed to that author, viz: the account of Odysseus' Adventures with the Cyclops, and with Circe, and the Teucer and Pyrrhus Dialogue. The Teucer and Pyrrhus Dialogue is shown to belong to Sisyphean both by reason of its absence in Septimius and by reason of the Sisyphean-citation with which it closes (Mal. 132, 19; Ekl. 221, 16). But with the exception of this dialogue, in which Sisyphean speaks in his own person, we possess no evidence that Teucer played in Sisyphean a more conspicuous rôle than in Dictys. For, in the passages cited by Greif (vid. p. 69), Teucer appears no more frequently in the Sisyphean-annals of Malalas than in the Dictys-annals of Septimius. Moreover Septimius not infrequently men-

confusion incident to any attempt to trace the reappearance in Malalas of strands of material so inextricably interwoven as those in which in the Latin Ephemeris he detects the hand of Sisyphean, Korinnos, and Dictys, respectively. His conclusions are, in general, that Malalas derived the greater portion of his history directly from Sisyphean, his indebtedness to Septimius being limited to a reproduction of original Dictys-material, such as the Adventures of Odysseus and of Orestes, which, as we have seen (p. 66, note 2), are accompanied by Dictys-citations. Of the Korinnos-element in Septimius, Malalas, according to Greif, made no use whatsoever.

tions Teucer where Malalas does not. Thus Septimius not only represents Teucer as among the first of the Greek leaders to arrive at Argos (Eph. I, 13), but in his account of Iphigenia's Sacrifice (Eph. I, 19) represents Teucer (and Idomeneus) as chosen to replace the (deposed) Agamemnon.¹ Conversely, passages are not lacking in which Malalas mentions Idomeneus where Septimius does not. Thus, as we have just seen, Malalas not only relates that Idomeneus (as well as Teucer) is chosen to replace Achilles in command of the Greek Forays (Mal. 102, 9; Ekl. 203, 32), but also assigns Idomeneus a part in the battle with the Amazons (Mal. 126, 10; Ekl. 218, 20). It thus appears, both from the frequent appearance of Teucer in Septimius and of Idomeneus in Malalas, that we have no more right to determine Sisyphean-material on the basis of the rôle ascribed Teucer by Malalas than we should have to determine Dictys-material on the basis of the part assigned Idomeneus by Septimius. We have, in other words, no evidence that Sisypheos, though designated by Tzetzes as scribe to Teucer, accorded a more prominent position to that hero than Septimius accords to Idomeneus. Furthermore, with the sole exception of the Teucer and Pyrrhos Dialogue, all incidents in Malalas that contain allusions to Teucer or that bear an alleged resemblance to those that do, either stand under Dictys-citations or else recur in the Dictys-annals of Septimius. Thus the Greek Forays, ascribed by Haupt to Sisypheos by reason of the rôle attributed to Teucer, not only reappears in Septimius (II, 16-19, 27, 41) and in Kedrenos (221, 10-222, 24) but is expressly assigned to Dictys by Eklogarius (Ekl. 201, 28), and there can, in consequence, be no doubt that this incident is purely and solely Dictæan. If, now, we deny the Greek Forays to Sisypheos, it is clear that we must also deny that author the embodied Portraits of the Greek captives. That the Portraits belong not to Sisypheos but to Dictys is further shown by the fact that the later Portraits

¹ Indeed it is by all means probable that Malalas' non-Septimian representation of Achilles as superceded by Teucer (vid. supra) is due merely to a hasty reproduction of the present passage whereby the name Achilles came to be substituted in place of Agamemnon, which stood in the Greek Dictys, as in Septimius.

of the Greek heroes and heroines are, like the similar Portraits of the Greek captives, nowhere ascribed to Sisyphos, but expressly claimed for Dictys, not only by Malalas in his immediately subjoined Dictys-citation (Mal. 107, 1 ff.), but also, as we have seen (p. 29), by Isaak, Tzetzes, and Kedrenos, who explicitly state, in their Dictys-citations, that Dictys gave Portraits (respectively designated as *ιδιώματα*, *εἶδη* and *χαρακτήρας*) of the leading personages of the war. If, therefore, we refuse the Portraits to Sisyphos, there evidently remains no further reason why we should ascribe to that author the Youth of Paris or the Rape of Helen. For the recurrence in these two episodes of the same peculiarities of precise and often grotesque detail that characterize the Portraits carries no further weight as a test of Sisyphos-authorship so long as we deny the Portraits to Sisyphos. Again, we are unable to concede, with Patzig (Haupt and Grief), the first dialogue, between Ajax and Odysseus, to Sisyphos. For this dialogue, notwithstanding its evident structural resemblance to the later dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, not only contains no Sisyphos-citation but is already present, as we have seen p. 55, (in undeveloped form) in the Palladion-strife related by Septimius (V, 14) and Kedrenos (232, 3-8). As regards, finally, Malalas' story of the Adventures of Odysseus, we again take issue with the above-mentioned critics in that we deny to Sisyphos more of Odysseus' Adventures than the two incidents covered by Sisyphos-citations, viz.: his experiences with the Cyclops and with Circe. For the subsequent portion of Odysseus' Adventures, viz.: from his arrival at the isle of Calypso to his death at the hands of Telegonos (Mal. 121, 3-122, 1; Ekl. 212, 22-216, 5), stands not under a Sisyphos-citation, but under two important Dictys-citations, the first introduced in connection with the story of Odysseus' arrival in Crete and his subsequent report to Idomeneus of the adventures that have thus far befallen him (Mal. 122, 1; Ekl. 210, 11), the second, in explanation of the way in which Dictys obtained his information with regard to the closing events of Odysseus' life, viz.: from certain dream-interpreters at Sparta (Ekl. 216, 4). We thus maintain, in opposition to Haupt and Greif, that the only incidents in Malalas that reveal the hand of a second author, Sisy-

phos, are the three episodes for which the authority of that author is expressly adduced, viz. : the Adventures of Odysseus with the Cyclops, and with Circe, and the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos.

In the second place, it cannot be maintained that we have in Sisyphos a chronicle either of greater antiquity or of greater constructive excellence than in Dictys. As regards the alleged evidences of greater antiquity in Sisyphos, Patzig infers from Malalas' statement (Mal. 132, 20-22; Ekl. 221, 17-18) that Dictys was not discovered until long after the period at which Sisyphos was composed (sc., before the time of Homer and Virgil) that Sisyphos must be the older chronicle. But it is here evident, as Patzig afterwards recognizes (Byz. Zs. XI, 151), that Malalas is here referring, not to the composition of Dictys, but only to the late discovery of that chronicle, which, as we have already seen (p. 26, note 2), he incorrectly places under the reign of Claudius instead of Nero (Mal. 250, 1-9). Nor is it possible to maintain with Patzig that dialogues in which heroes of the war relate their exploits in person must of necessity belong to an earlier period than passages in which these exploits are related in plain, historical fashion. Indeed, in the present instance, it is obvious that the contrary was the case. For had Dictys, as Patzig supposes, found two well-developed dialogues, admirably suited to the history of an eye-witness of the Trojan war, already present in his Sisyphos-original, it is impossible to see why he should not, like Malalas, have retained a feature so well calculated to sustain his pretensions, and why we should not have in Septimius, as in Malalas, in place of the brief Palladion-dialogue, the two full-fledged dialogues of Sisyphos. We believe, therefore, that the two dialogues of Malalas are to be looked upon as an outgrowth of the earlier Palladion-dialogue of Septimius, not the reverse.¹ Equally without foundation is Patzig's further claim that in respect to harmony of construction Dictys is inferior to Sisyphos. For although, in the

¹ Moreover, as Patzig afterwards acknowledges (vid. p. 67, note 3), the panegyric purpose evident in these two dialogues shows most conclusively that the dialogues in question are to be looked upon as a special adaptation of the earlier Dictys-chronicle, in which no such purpose is discernible.

passage cited by Patzig (p. 65), we might naturally expect Septimius to represent Hecuba as slain before and not after the departure of Odysseus, to whom she had already been given (Eph. V, 13), it is to be borne in mind that the Death of Hecuba, as shown by Kedrenos, forms an inseparable part of the Adventures of Odysseus and belongs, accordingly, to that sixth book of Septimius, in which the Dictæan story of the Return of the Greeks has been unduly abridged. Hence the confusion here, as in also in many other portions of the sixth book (cf. pp. 111 ff.). In all other respects it is evident that Septimius presents a much more consequential and better organized narrative of events than Sisypchos. For it is obvious that Septimius, who represents Teucer as not going to Cyprus until after the Palladion-strife (VI, 2) and as still present in Troy to receive the sons of his brother Ajax on the death of the latter (V, 16), gives a much clearer and more consistent version of this incident than Malalas, who is compelled by the exigencies of his dialogue to represent Teucer as absent on the occasion of his brother's death and as unable to receive the sons of Ajax until his return from Cyprus to interview Pyrrhos (Mal. 122, 13; Ekl. 216, 17).¹ Indeed the entire treatment of Teucer is much more intelligible in Septimius than in Malalas. For, as we have already seen (p. 59, note 2), it is by no means clear from Malalas how Teucer, who must be supposed to have left Troy, with the other Greeks, immediately before the Palladion-strife,² can have had time to return

¹ For by representing Teucer as present at the death of Ajax, Malalas would, as we have seen (p. 59), have left Teucer's return to Troy to confer with Pyrrhos without motive.

² And not, as Patzig supposes (Byz. Zs., XI, 155), at the time of Pyrrhos' arrival in Troy from Scyros (Mal. 104, 17). For Malalas represents Teucer as still present in Troy on the occasion of the subsequent battle with the Amazons (Mal. 126, 10; Ekl. 218, 20). Moreover, it is impossible to conceive how Teucer could have learned of the danger that threatened his brother Ajax, still less how, as in Septimius, he should have been excluded from home by his father Telamon, in case he left Troy so long before the outbreak of the Palladion-strife. It is, accordingly, to be inferred that Teucer left Troy immediately before the dispute that ended in his brother's death and that it was only the events of the Palladion-strife, and not, as Patzig imagines, the account of the preceding battles with Penthesilea and Memnon, that Teucer learns from the lips of Pyrrhos (Mal. 122, 15; Ekl. 216, 17).

home, suffer expulsion at the hands of his father Telamon (Eph. VI, 2), repair to Cyprus, found a new Salamis (Eph. VI, 4), and return to Troy in the brief space of time that has elapsed between the opening of the Palladion-strife and the dialogue with Pyrrhos that immediately ensues.¹ Hence it is evident that we have in Septimius the earlier and more consequential story of Teucer's adventures and in Malalas a late and awkward attempt to adjust the Dictaeon rôle of Teucer to the exigencies of the Sisyphean dialogue. Further evidence of the inadequacy of the Sisyphean annals of Malalas as compared with the Dictys-annals of Septimius is furnished by the contrast between the total absence in Malalas of any reference to the manner in which Sisypheus may be supposed to have obtained his information with regard to the events he relates and the full and circumstantial manner in which Dictys undertakes to account for the way in which he gathered his knowledge of the materials of his history. Thus Dictys learned of the events prior to the war from Odysseus, of the events of the war itself from personal experience, while for the events subsequent to the war he was indebted in part to Menelaus (Eph. VI, 3, 4), in part to Odysseus (Eph. VI, 5; Mal. 121, 1; Ekl. 210, 11), and in part to Neoptolemus (Eph. VI, 10).² If now we compare the frequency with which Dictys introduces himself upon the scene of action and the painstaking manner in which, as a veracious historian, he attempts to account for his knowledge of events which he did not personally witness with the total lack of any statement by Sisypheus with regard to the way in which as an absentee he gained his knowledge either of the Dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus or of the Adventures of Odysseus with the Cyclops and Circe or, even as a presentee, of the Dialogue

¹ In view of this difficulty, it is more natural to suppose with Patzig (Byz. Zs., XI, 155) that, according to Malalas, Teucer did not, as in Septimius, return to Salamis, but repaired directly to Cyprus, whither he had already gone, on an earlier plundering expedition in company with Idomeneus (Mal. 102, 6-7; Ekl. 203, 23).

² Also, according to Eklogarius, to certain dream-interpreters in Sparta (cf. p. 66, note 2).

between Teucer and Pyrrhos,¹ it becomes at once evident that Sisypchos, so far from exhibiting a constructive skill superior to that of Dictys, is, in comparison with the latter, an inept and ineffectual bungler. Finally, conclusive demonstration of the untenability of Patzig's assumption is to be found in the fact that Malalas is the only Dictys-annalist to refer in any way to Sisypchos. Had Sisypchos indeed been the earlier and better chronicle, how are we to explain that fact that neither Septimius, John of Antioch,² or Kedrenos allude at any time to this superior source but solely and invariably to Dictys? How does it happen that they all alike reject a feature so appropriate to the character of an eye-witness and prefer instead the simple, epic style of Dictys? How, moreover, does it happen that Malalas, who, according to Haupt and Greif, drew the larger portion of his annals from Sisypchos, introduces but three references to that author as against six to Dictys? (cf. p. 26, note 1).³ Why, finally, did not Malalas, if he discerned in Sisypchos a chronicle of superior excellence to Dictys, follow that author throughout, or, if only in part, why at least does he not refer more often to his superior than to his inferior source?

Our own views with regard to the disposition to be made of the Sisypchos-material in Malalas are as follows. We have in Malalas, as already stated, three and only three episodes that betray the hand of a second author Sisypchos, viz. the Adventures of Odysseus with the Cyclops, and with Circe, and the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos. For each of these three incidents the authority of Sisypchos is expressly cited and there can, in consequence, be no doubt that these incidents are to be regarded as the reflection in Malalas of the work of an actual author Sisypchos, not, as Noack supposes (pp. 439 ff.), as invented and attributed to an

¹For had such allusions existed in an earlier and more authentic Sisypchos chronicle it is certainly not to be supposed that Malalas would have failed to repeat them.

²Save, as we shall see (p. 90), in a single instance (Mueller, frag. 24, 9).

³Not to mention the two additional references to Dictys in the Malalas-excerpt Ekloge, which must also have stood in the original text of Malalas (cf. p. 66 and p. 66, note 2).

imaginary Sisypnos by a pre-Malalean redactor of Dictys. Moreover the striking resemblance between the Sisypnos-annals of Malalas and the Dictys-annals of Septimius, attested alike by the parallelism between the relation sustained by Sisypnos to Teucer and by Dictys to Idomeneus and by the significant fact that Sisypnos is twice cited in immediate connection with Dictys and in no case for incidents not recorded by Septimius, leaves no doubt that the one chronicle was written in imitation of the other. As to which of the two was the earlier, there can, in view of what has already been said, remain no further doubt that Sisypnos was fashioned upon the earlier model of Dictys, not the reverse. As regards, now, the explanation of why it is that Malalas has introduced the name of a second and apparently superfluous author Sisypnos, light is afforded by a consideration of the way in which Malalas cites, not Sisypnos alone, but also Euripides, Pheidaios of Corinth, and Homer as concomitant authorities with Dictys for his account of the strange adventures that Odysseus experienced at the hands of the Cyclops and of Circe. Thus the testimony of Euripides and Pheidaios is adduced in corroboration of the rationalistic explanation given by Sisypnos and Dictys of the fabulous Homeric story of the one-eyed Polyphemos (Mal. 117, 1-16; Ekl. 209, 31-210, 14) and again, as affording, in consonance with that of Dictys and Sisypnos, additional refutation of the Homeric fable of the power of Circe's charms (Mal. 119, 23-121, 2; Ekl. 212, 8-21). Now the purpose of this accumulation of names in Malalas is evidently not to diversify or enrich the Dictaeon story of Odysseus' Adventures with the Cyclops and Circe (Eph. VI, 5, 6) by the introduction of additional material from other authors, but simply to confirm the truth of the Dictaeon story by adducing the concurrent testimony of authors who have interpreted these events in a similar rationalistic manner. It is only for this reason that Sisypnos is introduced in the two incidents under consideration and it becomes, accordingly, as futile to seek the origin of these incidents in Sisypnos as in Euripides or Homer. Only when we pass to the third Sisypnos-incident in Malalas, viz. the Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos, do we detect evidence of the ex-

clusive use of Sisyphos-matter by Malalas. For as we have already seen, the idea of a meeting between Teucer and Pyrrhos is entirely strange to Septimius and has, in consequence, necessitated on the part of Sisyphos a complete alteration of the rôle accorded Teucer by Septimius. Here we must accordingly suppose that the pre-Malalean redactor of Dictys—to whom we have already attributed the introduction of the two Dialogues in Malalas—perceived in the Teucer-dialogue of Sisyphos a convenient means of abridging his account of the Siege of Troy and was consequently led, at this single point, to choose Sisyphos rather than Dictys as his guide.¹ But even in this Sisyphos-

¹ That, even in this dialogue, the Sisyphos-narration of Malalas bears a most decided resemblance to the Dictys-narrative of Septimius is shown by the fact that an obscure passage in Malalas may be explained on the basis of the corresponding portion of Septimius and, contrariwise, an obscurity in Septimius may be emended on the basis of the corresponding portion of Malalas. We have reference, in the first instance, to the much disputed passage in which Malalas relates the burial of Hector (Mal. 132, 3 ff. ; Ekl. 221, 14 ff.) : *βαλόντες ἐν ὕδρῳ θάπτομεν σιγῇ. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος κτλ.* The difficulty lies in the word *σιγῇ*. That *σιγῇ* is not a corruption of *Sigeum* (Mal. 122, 11 ; Ekl. 216, 15) is shown by the corresponding passage in Ekloge : *θάπτομεν σιγῇ <eis τόπον λεγόμενον Σίγριν>. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος κτλ.* Noack (p. 420) conjectures that the original (Dictaeon) reading was *γῇ* and that we have in *σιγῇ* a survival of an originally third person ending *σι* + *γῇ* and compares Kedrenos : *θάπτουσι γῇ*. That, however, Sisyphos, who, as we must assume, undertook, for the purpose of his dialogue, an intentional alteration in the person of his original, would have committed so careless a blunder, is, as Patzig (Byz. Zs. XI, 158) and Fürst (Philol. LX, 247) have pointed out, not to be supposed. We moreover find, with Fürst, justification for the retention of *σιγῇ* in the corresponding portion of Septimius (IV, 13), where we read that the traitor Achilles, receives a silent burial, unattended by any of the martial ceremonies that accompany the later burial of the patriot Ajax (Eph. V, 15, 16 ; Mal. 122, 10 ; Ekl. 216, 18). Conversely, we find, with Greif (1900, p. 13), in Malalas a clue to the interpretation of an obscure passage (IV, 2) in Septimius' account of the battle with the Amazons : *cadunt sagittis reginae plurimi neque ab Teucris secus bellatum*. That here the reading *ab Teucris* cannot, as Dunger (p. 21) and Noack (p. 447) suppose, be correct is shown by the fact that the Trojans take no part in the Amazon conflict (cf. Eph. p. 70, 28), that they are nowhere designated by Dictys as Teucris, and that it is, obviously, the Greeks and not the Trojans who fell beneath the arrows of Penthesilea. That, at the same time, we have here to do, not with the Greeks in general, as Lûnák conjectures in his emendation *ab nostris* (Philol. LII, 205), but with Teucer (and his fellow-archers) in particular is, as Lehrs (Königsb. wissenschaft. Monatsbl. VI, 132) admits in his unnecessarily complicated emendation *a Teucris sociis*, evident both from the fact that Teucer

dialogue we discern no indications that the redactor in question has sought more than a new means of continuing the abridged story of the Siege and Capture of Troy begun in the preceding dialogue between Ajax and Odysseus, which, as we have already seen (p. 73), is purely Dictæan.¹

Finally, explanation of the way in which the author of the transformed Dictys-annals of Malalas may be supposed to have enjoyed access to Sisyphos is to be had in a further consideration of the two foregoing references to Pheidaios of Corinth and in a subsequent reference to Dominos, cited by Malalas as authority for Orestes' Adventures in Syria (Mal. 142, 20). For it is evident that we have in Pheidaios and Dominos, cited, like Sisyphos, only by Malalas, pre-Homeric annals of much the same stamp as Sisyphos, and that the same reasons that induced our redactor to quote these two additional authors prompted likewise his allusions to Sisyphos. These reasons can be found only in the assumption that there existed, at a period subsequent to the composition of Dictys and prior to the appearance of Dictys' annals in the works of the Byzantines, a book, similar to that preserved under the name of Ptolemaios Chennos, designed to bring together the most famous Trojan forgeries of the day within the compass of a single volume.² To some such collection of forgeries, in which, to

has just taken his station opposite the Amazon archers (Eph. p. 70, 32) and, in particular, from the express reference to his activity in Malalas: *καὶ κτείνω ἐγὼ Τεύκρος πολὺ πλῆθος* (Mal. 126, 11; Ekl. 218, 21). From this last passage in particular it is, we believe, clear that the *ab Teucris* of Septimius makes no sense and that in the original Dictys, no less than in the Sisyphos-adaptation, the reference was clearly and unmistakably to Teucer.

¹ For the Palladion-dialogue not only contains no allusion to Sisyphos, but is already present, in embryonic form, in the Dictys-annals of Septimius. Moreover, it is quite impossible to regard this dialogue as sustaining any organic relation to the later Teucer-dialogue. For, as we have already seen (p. 74), the Teucer-dialogue opens at a point earlier than that at which the present dialogue ends.

² That collections of alleged extracts from early fabulous histories of Troy were common in post-Alexandrian times is rendered probable by the frequency with which later writers refer to works of this sort. Thus Suidas in his Lexicon (sub *Κορίννος*) mentions a certain Korinnos who acted as scribe to Palamedes (cf. the relation of Dictys to Idomeneus and of Sisyphos to Teucer), and who wrote a history of the Trojan war in the Doric letters invented by his master (cf. the

judge from the analogy of Chennos¹ and from the manner in which Malalas introduces concomitant allusions to Sisypchos, Pheidaios and Dictys, extracts from various Trojan apocrypha had become episodically classified, our redactor, in all probability, had recourse, and from it he extracted those ultra-Dictaeon features that would seem otherwise to constitute a most anomalous element in a chronicle that aims primarily to reproduce Dictys.

John of Antioch.

The second Byzantine version of Dictys with which we have to deal is that by John of Antioch. The determination of the relation of John of Antioch to other versions of Dictys, has, in the past, been rendered difficult by reason of the following facts. The Troica of John of Antioch, contained in his *Ἱστορία χρονική* or *Ἀρχαιολογία*,² no longer survive in their original form, being,

Phenician script of Dictys). In like manner Aelian (Var. Hist., XI, 2; XIV, 21) attributes pre-Homeric records to Oroibantes the Troizenian, Dares the Phrygian, and Syagrios. Similarly Eustathios (ad. Odys., p. 453, 32), and, most important, Ptolemaios Chennos, who is to be regarded as one of the principal collectors of fabulous notices of this sort (*Καὶνὴ Ἱστορία*, excerpts of Photius, ed. Roulez, p. 147 a 24), cite Asclepiades the Myrleanian, Timolaos the Macedonian, Dardanos the Thessalian, Antipater the Acanthian, Dares the Phrygian, and a variety of other authors as authority for special versions of specific incidents of the Trojan war. In view of these many allusions to Trojan apocrypha, many of which, as in the case of the majority of those cited by Chennos, can have had no existence whatsoever in fact, there can be but little doubt that a veritable epidemic of forgeries prevailed in post-Alexandrian times (cf. p. 13, note 2) and nothing is more probable than that at a later period, such as that represented by Chennos (2nd century A. D.), extracts from real or alleged forgeries pertaining to the Trojan war, were afterwards gathered together and arranged, as in Chennos (cf. the following note), according to the specific subjects (or episodes) of which they treat. (Cf., in general, Hercher, Ueber die Glaubwürdigkeit des Ptolemaeus Chennus, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.*, 1855, Supplement, I, 269 ff.)

¹ Thus Chennos (loc. cit.) adduces a list of (alleged) extracts from early authors in support of his assertion that various Greek heroes (e. g., Patroclus, Achilles, Hector, etc.) received oracular intimations of the fates that awaited them (quoted by Hercher, pp. 269 ff.).

² Both titles receive ms. justification: the first from the two Constantine mss., Codex Turonensis, in which the Antioch-fragments under the title *περὶ ἀρετῆς*, bear the superscription *Ἐκ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως Ἱστορίας χρονικῆς*, and Codex Escorialensis, in which the Antioch-fragments, under the title *περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν*, bear the superscription *Ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείως*, the subscription *Τέλος τῆς*

until recent years, represented only by twelve brief fragments, two in the Constantine,¹ and ten in the Salmasian collection.² Moreover, in the past, doubt has been expressed with regard to the genuineness of these Trojan fragments by reason of the fact that the fragments in question occur in portions of the Constantine and Salmasian collections which, though signed by John of Antioch,³ exhibit marked stylistic inferiority to other signed portions of the same collections.⁴ This doubt has, however, been finally removed

ιστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείως; the second from the Salmasian ms. (Codex Paris, 1763), in which the Antioch-fragments bear the superscription: *Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείως* (cf. Mueller, op. cit., 1868, IV, 535; Patzig, *Byz. Zs.* II, 414).

¹The Constantine collection (or encyclopedia), compiled under the direction of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos (tenth century), contains excerpts from a variety of earlier Byzantine historians, arranged not according to author, but according to the subject of which they treat (e. g. *περὶ ἀρετῆς*, *περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν* κτλ.); the two Constantine fragments are edited, the first, which stands under the rubric *περὶ ἀρετῆς*, by Mueller, op. cit. (1868), IV, 550, frag. 23, the second, which occurs under the rubric *περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν*, by Cramer, *Anecd. Paris* (1839), II, 4, 3-5, 13, and Mueller, p. 551, frag. 25.

²The Salmasian collection, so-called from its discoverer Clement Salmasius (seventeenth century), comprises unclassified excerpts, derived, for the most part, from John of Antioch (cf. Patzig, *progr.* 1891, pp. 3 ff.); the ten Salmasian fragments are edited by Cramer, II, 390 ff., and Mueller, p. 550, frag. 24.

³Cf. p. 81, note 2.

⁴For this reason Sotiriadis (op. cit., 1888, pp. 3 ff., 24, 55 ff., 96 ff.) has denied the Constantine Troica to John of Antioch and attributed them to Malalas; likewise, and for the same reason, de Boor (*Hermes* XX, 1885, 327 ff.); Sotiriadis (1888, pp. 24, 37); Noack (1892, p. 433); de Boor (*Herm.* XXXIV, 1899, 298 ff.); and Greif (1900, p. 24), have assigned the Salmasian Troica, not to John of Antioch, but to an anonymous hand of the ninth century. On the other hand, Patzig has maintained (*progr.* 1892, pp. 2 ff.; 20 ff.; *Byz. Zs.* I, 1892, 138; II, 18934, 23 ff.) that the Constantine and Salmasian Troica both originally formed portion of one and the same Antioch-original. Patzig's reasons for this opinion were that the contents of both the Constantine and Salmasian fragments reappear alike in the Dictys-glosses of Suidas and in the Hypothesis of the Odyssey (ed. Dindorf), and must, therefore, have originally existed in a single chronicle, the joint source of Suidas and the Hypothesis. Thus Patzig finds that Suidas reproduces the contents of both in his Lexicon (cf. *Const. Youth of Paris*, frag. 23, with Suidas, sub Πάριον; *Salm. art. on Rhesos*, frag. 24, 6 with Suidas, sub Πῆσος; *Salm. art. on the Palladion* with Suidas, sub Παλλάδιον). Of the objection urged against the genuineness of the Troica by reason of their stylistic inferiority to other portions of the two collections in which they occur Patzig (*progr.* 1891, p. 6) disposes on the assumption that in the Troica we have to do either with a portion of the *Ἀρχαιολογία* in which John of Antioch had recourse to inferior sources or with the work of a continuator.

by new Trojan material by John of Antioch discovered by A. Heinrich in a Vienna Codex (Vindobonensis historicus 99) and edited in a Graz program (1892), entitled „Die Chronik des Johannes Sikeliota,, (pp. 4–10).¹ These new materials, save for their greater copiousness, present readings that accord with the Constantine and Salmasian fragments and leave, therefore, no further doubt that the three groups of Troica under consideration represent parallel excerpts from one and the same Antioch original.²

We have, now, to determine whether the Dictys-version of John of Antioch (represented by the three sets of fragments above mentioned) is capable of derivation from one or both of the earlier versions of Septimius and Malalas, or whether it contains additional details of such a nature as to necessitate the assumption that Antioch derived the materials of his history from an earlier Greek-Dictys.

A comparison of Antioch with Malalas and Septimius yields the following results. Antioch presents throughout his history constant agreements now with Malalas and now with Septimius, not infrequently uniting within one and the same episode elements that exist apart in the works of his predecessors.³ Thus Antioch agrees with Malalas and differs from Septimius in respect to the following particulars. Antioch (Jo. Sik., 5, 8–9) reproduces an account of the ancestry of Menelaus present in Malalas (Mal. 94, 2–4; Ekl. 198, 19–20) but absent in Septimius; Antioch (5, 8–20; Const. frag. 23) agrees with Malalas (Mal. 94, 5–21; Ekl. 198, 20–31) in the statement that Paris arrived in Sparta before and not, as in Septimius (I, 3), after the departure of Menelaus for

¹ This new version of John of Antioch, inserted in the chronicle of John of Sicily, presents, in contrast to the disconnected fragments preserved in the Constantine and Salmasian collections, a consecutive, though abridged, reproduction of a considerable portion of the original Troica of Antioch. Nevertheless, this version, though more copious than the fragments hitherto known, is still incomplete. It opens with the Youth of Paris and ends abruptly, in the midst of an account of the Rape of the Palladion. (vid. tab.).

² The discovery of this new material serves, therefore, to substantiate the view of Patzig (cf. Patzig, *Byz. Zs.*, IV, 1895, pp. 23 ff.; Gleye, *Byz. Zs.*, V, 1895, p. 452; Patzig, *Byz. Zs.*, X, 1901, p. 42).

³ These resemblances are, of course, somewhat obscured by the fact that the excerpts by which Antioch is represented present a much more compressed version of Dictys than is in Malalas and Septimius.

Crete; Antioch (5, 31) incorrectly gives the name of Hecuba's father as Dynas (Mal. 96, 17; Ekl. 199, 25) in contradistinction to Septimius' correct Dymas (Eph. I, 9); Antioch (6, 5-9) presents a brief account of the Youth of Achilles present in Malalas (Mal. 97, 13-16) but absent in Septimius; Antioch (7, 19) repeats in harmony with Malalas (Mal. 123, 5; Ekl. 216, 26) the non-Septimian detail that Achilles slew Hector by night; Antioch (7, 31) relates that not only Nestor (Eph. III, 20; Mal. 124, 8-9; Ekl. 217, 14) but also Idomeneus (Mal. 124, 8-9; Ekl. 217, 14) begged Achilles to restore the dead body of Hector to Priam; Antioch (Salm. frag. 24, 9) like Malalas cites Sisypheos as authority for the Adventures of Odysseus with Circe.¹ Elsewhere, however, and in immediate connection with incidents peculiar to Malalas, John of Antioch presents many specific points of agreement with Septimius. Thus Antioch (5, 17; frag. 23) states that Clymene (Eph. I, 3) as well as Aethra (Mal. 95, 2; Ekl. 199, 3) attended Helen in Sparta; Antioch (5, 28) relates that not only Menelaus (Mal. 97, 9; Ekl. 200, 3) but also Odysseus and Palamedes (Eph. II, 4) went as ambassadors to Troy;² Antioch (5, 41; 6, 1; 9, 20; Const. frag. 23) repeats the constant Septimian allusion to the lawless conduct of the sons of Priam (Eph. I, 7, 11; II, 8, 25, 41 ff.); Antioch (8, 30) states that Achilles undertook negotiations for the hand of Polyxena, not, as in Malalas (Mal. 130, 11-12; Ekl. 220, 13-16), at the instigation of Priam, but, as in Septimius (IV, 10), entirely on his own initiative;³ Antioch (Salm. frag. 24, 6) relates in accordance with

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¹ By reason of these numerous points of resemblance between the Antioch-text represented in the Constantine and Salmasian fragments and Malalas, Dunger (1878, pp. 14 ff.) and Greif (1886, pp. 247 ff.), to whom the Vienna-Troica were as yet unknown, derived Antioch from Malalas.

² Malalas states only at a much later point (Mal. 110, 6; Ekl. 205, 20) that Odysseus and Palamedes, as well as Menelaus, went as ambassadors to Troy.

³ The exceptional representation by Malalas of Priam as seeking to induce Achilles to betray the Greeks in return for the hand of Polyxena proceeds from the fact that Malalas has, in order either, as Patzig believes (p. 68, note), to preserve the panegyric purpose of his dialogue, or, as is more probable, to secure the compression essential to his dialogue, omitted an earlier account of the meeting between Achilles and Polyxena (Eph. III, 2).

Septimius (II, 45) the story of the arrival of Rhesos in Troy and his death at the hands of Odysseus and Diomedes; Antioch (9, 30) agrees with Septimius (V, 4) in the statement, omitted by Malalas, that Helen begged Antenor to intercede with the Greeks in her behalf and procure her restoration to Menelaus; Antioch (10, 22-25) relates that not only Antenor (Mal, 109, 8-11; Ekl. 204, 33-205, 2) but also his wife Theano (Eph. V, 8) was instrumental in the delivery of the Palladion to Odysseus and Diomedes; finally, Antioch agrees with Septimius in the omission of the Portraits and the two Dialogues peculiar to Malalas. Passages likewise occur in which, in the midst of one and the same incident, Antioch combines details peculiar to Malalas with others found only in Septimius. Thus in his account of the Youth of Paris (4, 1-3; Const. frag. 23) Antioch unites Septimius' story of the Dream of Hecuba (Eph. III, 26) with Malalas' representation that Priam, and not Hecuba, sent Paris into the country to be educated. Again Antioch (7, 5-7) mediates between Malalas and Septimius in attributing the Wrath of Achilles¹ (Eph. II, 28 ff.) to the fact that Achilles concealed Briseis in his tent (Mal. 101, 19-102, 9; Ekl. 203, 12-24).² In like manner, Antioch (10, 17-20; Salm. frag. 24, 7) presents, as alternative explanations of the origin of the Palladion, the Septimian version that it fell from heaven (Eph. V, 5) and the version of Malalas that it was given to King Tros by the philosopher Asios (Mal. 108, 1-8; Ekl. 207, 30-208, 1).

By reason of these many points of contact with Malalas, on the one hand, and with Septimius, on the other, many critics have been led to regard John of Antioch as representing a blend or fusion of Malalas and Dictys. Thus Greif (1900, pp. 24 ff.) derives Antioch in part from Malalas and in part from the Latin Septimius; Haupt (Philol. Anzeiger X, 1880, pp. 542 ff.), Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 1892, 139 ff.; Byz. Zs. IV, 1894, 23 ff.; Byz. Zs.

¹ *ὁδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀρχὴ γέγονεν τῆς ἐχθρας* are the words used by Antioch in referring to the enmity between Achilles and Agamemnon.

² Malalas, it will be remembered (p. 62, note 1), says nothing of the Wrath of Achilles; Septimius, nothing of his selfish retention of Briseis.

X, 1901, 48 ff.), and Fürst (Philol. LX, 1901, 251 ff.) derive Antioch in part from Malalas and in part from a Greek Dictys. But that neither of these two hypotheses is correct and that we must, with Noack (1892, pp. 482 ff.)¹ and Gleye (Byz. Zs. V, 1896, 451 ff.), seek the origin of Antioch, not in the two separate versions of Malalas and Dictys, but in a single Greek Dictys will appear from the following considerations.

It is, in the first place, not to be supposed that John of Antioch, who, like Malalas, was not primarily concerned with the history of Dictys, but with a world-chronicle for which Dictys should supply merely the contents of a single chapter, should have taken the unnecessary pains to extract his materials from two separate sources when either one alone would have served his purpose equally well. Still less is it to be supposed, with Greif, that Antioch would have possessed either the ability or inclination to extract the materials of his history in part from a Latin Dictys and in part from a Greek Malalas.² Furthermore it is by no means probable that materials so closely interwoven as the Malalas and Dictys materials in Antioch were derived by that author from two separate versions, even though both were written in Greek.

In the second place, we find in Antioch, not infrequently in immediate connection now with particulars in respect to which he agrees with Malalas and now with particulars shared by him in common with Septimius, further particulars that find no parallel in either of these earlier versions and that necessitate the assumption that Antioch followed a version of Dictys other than that of either of his two predecessors. Thus Antioch cites Dictys for details either absent in Malalas and Septimius or not ascribed by these authors to Dictys. Antioch cites Dictys as authority for the statement that Priam sent for aid to David and

¹ Noack's failure to perceive that the Constantine and Salmasian Troica represent the work of Antioch can, of course, in no way invalidate his conclusions that the contents of these fragments are alike incapable of derivation either from Malalas or from Septimius.

² For, as we shall see (pp. 104 ff.), it is altogether unlikely that Antioch or any other of the Byzantines under consideration possessed a sufficiently ultimate knowledge of Latin to translate the Latin Ephemeris.

Tautanes and that David made no response but Tautanes sent Tithon and Memnon (J. of A. 7, 15; 8, 14; Salm. frag. 24, 3);¹ as authority for the account of the insidious murder of Hector by Achilles (Salm. frag. 24, 4);² as authority for the Death of Polydorus (Salm. frag. 24, 5);³ and as authority for the Death of Penthesilea (J. of A. 8, 6-7).⁴ Peculiar to Antioch is, likewise, the treatment of the following incidents. Antioch (7, 12-13) differs alike from Malalas (Mal. 102, 20; Ekl. 204, 1) and Septimius (II, 18) in the reason he gives why

¹ As regards the genuineness of the two statements for which Dictys is here made responsible, a distinction is to be drawn between the first statement and the second. The first statement, viz. that Priam sent for aid to David and that David (very significantly) failed to reply, is naturally, as Noack (p. 434) has shown, not to be looked for in an early (pagan) Dictys and must, accordingly, be set aside as a late Christian interpolation. On the other hand, the second statement, viz., that Priam sent for aid to Tautanes and that Tautanes sent Tithon and Memnon, rests upon an assuredly Dictaeon basis. That such is the case is shown by the fact that in all the extant versions of Dictys Memnon appears as an ally of Priam (Eph. IV, 4; Mal. 128, 18; Ekl. 219, 9; J. of A. 8, 14 ff.; Kedr. 225, 23). As regards, moreover, the similar allusion to Tithon, there can, in like manner, be little doubt that this detail as well is Dictaeon. For although Dunger (p. 21), Sotiriadis (p. 24, note 19), Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 135) and Greif (1900, p. 24) regard this allusion to a (mythological) Tithon as necessarily strange to the scrupulous rationalism of Dictys, Noack (p. 434) finds the same event alluded to by Diodorus (II, 22) and ascribed to Kephalion (sc. the Gergithian Kephalon, Hegesianax) in an Armenian translation of Eusebios and is therefore led to assume its existence in an ante-Byzantine version of Dictys. Confirmation of Noack's view is further found in the fact that both Malalas (Mal. 127, 10; Ekl. 219, 16) and Septimius (IV, 4) refer, in a single instance, to Tithon. For there is here much less reason to infer, with Patzig and Greif, that Malalas, who expressly represents Tithon as the leader of the Assyrian, drew his reference to that author from an earlier version in which, as in Septimius, Tithon appears merely as the father of Memnon, than there is to infer that in the original Dictys Tithon no less than Memnon figured as a leader in the war, though stript, as in the case of Chiron (cf. p. 13, note 1) of all supernatural attributes.

² This incident stands without accompanying Dictys-citation in Malalas (Mal. 123, 4-9; Ekl. 216, 25-31) and in Septimius (III, 15).

³ The incident of Polydorus' Death stands without accompanying Dictys-citation in Malalas (Mal. 103, 7-10; Ekl. 204, 7-12) and in Septimius (II, 27).

⁴ This incident likewise stands without accompanying Dictys-citation in Malalas (Mal. 123, 5; Ekl. 216, 26) and in Septimius (III, 15). It is, of course, quite possible that the present Dictys-citation is identical with that which occurs in the Salm. frag. at end of the account of the Death of Hector, who had at the time, gone forth to meet Penthesilea.

Priam entrusted his son Polydoros to King Polymestor. Thus in contradistinction to Septimius, who assigns no reason, and to Malalas, who reports that Priam was anxious that the youth should be bred afar from the sounds of war, Antioch relates that Priam desired that his son should escape the impending destruction of Troy; Antioch (8, 33–38) gives a much more circumstantial account than either Malalas (Mal. 130, 21 ff.; Ekl. 220, 23 ff.) or Septimius (IV, 11) of the Murder of Achilles by Paris and Deiphobus; Antioch (9, 5) relates the detail, strange to each of his predecessors, that the Greeks guarded the unburied urn of Achilles until the arrival of his son Pyrrhos; Antioch (9, 6) relates that Pyrrhos on his way to Troy from Scyros brought with him Philoctetes from Lemnos, whereas Malalas omits the incident altogether, while Septimius (II, 47) states that Philoctetes returned to Troy with certain Greeks who had brought him his share of the booty captured on the Greek Forays. Still again, Antioch differs alike from Malalas and Septimius in respect to certain details that reappear in the later Dictys-version of Kedrenos. Thus Antioch (Const. frag. 23) refers in accordance with Kedrenos (223, 13) to Homer (as well as Dictys) as authority for the Ship-catalogue; Antioch (8, 14) relates in consonance with Kedrenos (225, 14–15) that Penthesilea was flung into the river Scamander by the army, not, as in Malalas (Mal. 127, 6–7; Ekl. 219, 3) and Septimius (IV, 3), by Diomedes and against the wishes of Achilles, who desired to bury her; Antioch (10, 6) agrees with Kedrenos (230, 23) in giving an exact specification of the number of armed men concealed in the Wooden Horse;¹ Antioch (as here represented by Suidas,² *Lexicon*, sub *Κυνὸς σῆμα*) differs from Septimius (V, 16) and agrees with Kedrenos (232, 13–16) in his account of the death of Hecuba, omitted by Malalas; thus Antioch, like Kedrenos, represents Hecuba as slain by the companions of Odysseus at Maronia and not, as Septimius, after the departure of Odysseus at

¹ Thus Antioch gives nine and cites therefor the authority of Virgil, who gives the same number; Kedrenos gives twenty-four.

² Suidas is shown, as we have already seen (p. 82, note 4), by Patzig (progr. 1892, p. 20; Byz. Zs. I, 138; II, 423 ff.) and by Gelzer (I, 79–81) to have drawn his Dictys-materials from John.

Abydos ; finally, Antioch (Const. frag. 25) agrees with Kedrenos (233, 4 ff.) in the story of the poisoned tunic wherewith Clytemnestra compassed the death of Agamemnon, omitted by Malalas (Mal. 133, 11-12 ; Ekl. 222, 14-24) and Septimius (VI, 2).

In the third place, Antioch frequently disposes incidents in a quite different order from that which they occupy in Malalas and Septimius. Thus Antioch introduces his account of the Death of Polydoros not, as Malalas and Septimius, immediately after the Greek Forays, where it properly belongs, but later, in immediate connection with the arrival of Penthesilea ; likewise Antioch improperly places his account of the Trojan Sacrifices, the Palladion, and the Rape of the Palladion after, and not, as his predecessors, before the Peace Negotiations (vid. tab.).

Finally, conclusive evidence that Antioch was not derived in part from Malalas and in part from Septimius is to be found in the fact that he relates incidents, in respect to which he agrees with Septimius, in the style (phraseology and word-order) peculiar to Malalas (cf. p. 44), and, conversely, those incidents of the Siege of Troy, in which he agrees with Malalas (viz. the representation of Idomeneus as interfering in behalf of the aged Priam and of Achilles as slaying Hector by night), not in the dialogue-form peculiar to that author, but in the same straightforward epic fashion as Septimius. Evidently such a conjunction of the style or method of one author with the content of the other, and the reverse, is entirely incompatible with the theory that we have in Antioch a mechanical compilation from the works of his predecessors, and necessitates, instead, the conclusion that Antioch, like Kedrenos, with whom, as we have seen, he frequently agrees, derived the materials of his history from a single Greek Dictys-exemplar that combined those features of style, with respect to which he agrees with Malalas, with the simpler episodic disposition of Septimius, and that contained within itself the basis of those several variations in episodic treatment that exist apart in Malalas and Septimius. As regards date of composition, there can be no doubt that the redaction of Dictys consulted by Antioch occupied a position intermediate between the version used by Septimius, in which the style and condensed form of

treatment peculiar to the Byzantine world-chronicle had not as yet made their appearance, and the later redaction followed by Malalas, in which the dialogues peculiar to that author had already been introduced. In both these respects the original to which Antioch had access resembled that used by Kedrenos, with whom in many other respects as well Antioch has been found to agree. That, however, Antioch and Kedrenos did not go back to the same original is shown by the fact that, in addition to other differences, Antioch (*Salm. frag.* 24, 9), unlike Kedrenos, cites Sisyphos as authority for the Adventures of Odysseus with Circe.¹ We must accordingly conclude that the version of Dictys used by Antioch was written somewhat later than that consulted by Kedrenos, at a period when, as in the case of the Dictys redaction followed by Malalas, allusions to a second author Sisyphos had already begun to make their appearance.

Kedrenos.

As in the case of John of Antioch, so also in that of Kedrenos, we have to do with a version of Dictys which exhibits points of contact now with Malalas and now with Dictys and which, for this reason, presents, at first sight, the aspect of a compilation from these two sources.

As regards, in the first place, the relation of Kedrenos to Malalas, Kedrenos stands in general much closer than Antioch to Malalas. Thus he not only shares with that author those peculiar features of style and episodic treatment, which, as we have seen (p. 44), distinguish the Byzantines as a group from Septimius,² but sustains, throughout the larger portion of his

¹That this (single) allusion to Sisyphos by Antioch, confirmed as genuine by its reappearance in the Hypothesis of the Odyssey (4, 27), can in no wise be interpreted as due to the use of Malalas is shown both by the absence in Antioch of the Sisyphos-Dialogue between Teucer and Pyrrhos and, as Noack has pointed out (p. 433), by the fact that Antioch cites Sisyphos not only for the statement, found in Malalas (*Mal.* 117, 20-21; *Ekl.* 210, 26), that Circe was goddess of the Sun, but also for the additional statement, not found in that author, that Calypso was goddess of the Moon.

²Thus Kedrenos like Malalas (and Antioch) employs a simpler, more direct, and much more highly compressed style of narration than Septimius. He likewise

history of Dictys, a very close and intimate relation to Malalas. Thus in his account of the Youth of Paris, Rape of Helen, and Embassy to Priam (216, 13–218, 22) and in his entire story of the Siege of Troy (223, 14–229, 4) Kedrenos admits none of those specific points of contact with Septimius found in Antioch (cf. pp. 84, 85), but agrees throughout almost verbatim with Malalas. Likewise Kedrenos (234, 18–237, 12) relates the Adventures of Orestes at much greater length than Septimius (VI, 3, 4, 13) and in general accord with Malalas (Mal. 133, 3–142, 20; Ekl. 222, 16–226, 31).¹

In other passages, however, which lie between the three sections above indicated and which exhibit the character of interpolations, Kedrenos agrees over against Malalas with Dictys (as represented either by Septimius or John of Antioch, or both). Thus Kedrenos (222, 5–13) relates in accordance with Septimius (II, 28 ff.) that Achilles was deprived of Briseis by Agamemnon and refused to reënter battle until presented with rich gifts by the Greeks. Again, in a passage separated from the foregoing by an intermediary section (222, 13–223, 14), in which occurs an account of the Forays of Ajax and of the Death of Polydoros that agrees with Malalas (Mal. 102, 11–103, 10; Ekl. 203, 25–204, 12), Kedrenos presents a second version of the Wrath of Achilles (223, 14–20) in which, as in John of Antioch (7, 25–27) the death of Patroclos is represented as the immediate occasion of Achilles' return to battle. Still again Kedrenos (223, 13) agrees with John of Antioch (frag. 23) in referring to Homer as concomitant authority with Dictys for the list of names and number of ships contained in the Ship-catalogue. Likewise Kedrenos (230, 12–232, 2) agrees now with Septimius and now with John of Antioch in his account of the Wooden Horse and of the Entry

introduces his account of the Youth of Paris, Dictys-citation, and Catalogue of ships in the same (Byzantine) position as Malalas and gives, in accordance with the latter, the same non-Septimian version of the Deaths of Palamedes and Oinone (cf. pp. 42, 43).

¹Throughout this section the verbal correspondence with Malalas is almost exact, save for the fact that Kedrenos is more condensed and here and there omits words present in Malalas.

and Destruction of Troy. Thus Kedrenos gives, in harmony with Septimius (V, 11), an account of the construction of the Wooden Horse and the name of the architect, Epios, and with John of Antioch (10, 6), an exact specification of the number of armed men concealed in the interior. Finally, with the exception of the Adventures of Orestes, Kedrenos frequently agrees more closely with Septimius and with Antioch than with Malalas in his account of the Return of the Greeks. Thus Kedrenos, as we have seen (pp. 88, 89), presents a version of the Death of Hecuba (232, 13-16) and a story of the poisoned tunic wherewith Clytemnestra compasses the Death of Agamemnon (233, 4 ff.) that recur only in John of Antioch. Again, Kedrenos (234, 9-11) relates, in agreement with Septimius (VI, 4), that Menelaus on his return from Troy was driven with Helen to Egypt; and (234, 11-12) mentions, in accordance with Septimius (VI, 1), the shipwreck of Ajax the Locrian. Still again, Kedrenos (233, 3-5) gives, in accordance both with Septimius (VI, 5) and with Antioch (as represented by Suidas, sub *Χάρυβδης*), a description of the perils of Scylla and Charybdis lacking in Malalas (121, 13; Ekl. 213, 3); also (234, 12-16), in consonance with the same authors, (Sept. VI, 2; J. of A. as represented by Suidas, sub *Βερεβερτός*), a fuller account than Malalas (Mal. 167, 4-6; Ekl. 216, 6-10) of the Return of Diomedes, his expulsion from home by his wife Aegiale, and his subsequent founding of Beneventum in Calabria.

Finally, incidents are not lacking in which Kedrenos combines elements peculiar to Malalas with others peculiar to Dictys (as represented either by Septimius or John of Antioch) in a single composite version of his own. Thus Kedrenos (219, 6-220, 3) opens his account of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia with a reproduction of details peculiar to Malalas (Mal. 98, 1-23; Ekl. 200, 7-22), but continues with a reproduction of quite different particulars found only in Septimius (I, 19).¹ Kedrenos relates in accordance with Malalas that upon the arrival of the Greeks at Aulis a storm arose, that Calchas prophesied that the storm could be allayed only by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and that Agamemnon refused to comply

¹ The story of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia is not preserved in the Antioch-excerpts.

with this condition. At this point, however, Kedrenos passes abruptly to the Septimian version, in accordance with which he relates that a certain prophetess (*γυνή* = quaedam mulier) declared that the storm could be allayed only by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, that, according to another report (*οἱ δὲ . . . φασι*), not a storm, but a pestilence arose, due to the wrath of Diana, and that by reason of Agamemnon's unwillingness to sacrifice Iphigenia Palamedes was appointed leader in his stead. Again, in his account of the Wooden Horse and Entry of Troy by the Greeks, Kedrenos (230, 17-232, 2) unites particulars peculiar to Malalas with others that are found only in Septimius and in Antioch. Thus he opens with the report of Malalas (Mal. 113, 4-5; Ekl. 207, 15) that the name given the Horse was Durios and that Odysseus, not Helenos, as in Septimius (V, 11), ordered its construction, but continues by giving, in accordance with Septimius (V, 11), the name of the maker, Epios, in accordance with Antioch (10, 6), the exact number of men concealed within, and, in accordance with both, an account, omitted by Malalas, of the nature and purpose of the work (Eph. V, 11; J. of A. 10, 5), of the manner of its introduction into the city (Eph. V, 11; J. of A. 10, 9), of the departure of the Greeks for Tenedos (Sigeum), and of their triumphant return and slaughter of the Trojans (Eph. V, 12; J. of A. 10, 11-14).

By reason of this union in Kedrenos of materials that exist apart now in Malalas and now in other versions of Dictys, many critics have been led to regard Kedrenos, no less than John of Antioch, as a blend or fusion of Malalas, on the one hand, and of some further (purer) version of Dictys, on the other. Thus Koerting (1874, pp. 23 ff.) claims that, in addition to Malalas, Kedrenos made supplementary use of a Greek Dictys; Haupt (Philol. Anz. X, 1880, 542) that this supplementary source was John of Antioch; Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 1892, 137 ff.; Byz. Zs. II, 1893, 425 ff.), Greif (1900, pp. 30 ff.), and Fürst (Philol. LX, 1901, 257 ff.) that Kedrenos represents a compilation (ultimately) drawn¹ in part from Malalas and in part from John of Antioch.

¹ Through the medium of Codex Paris., 1712 (cf. p. 95).

That we have to do in Kedrenos, as opposed to John of Antioch, with something in the nature of a compilation is, we believe, evident from the following considerations.

In the first place, it is possible in Kedrenos, as it was not in John of Antioch, to distinguish sections that betray affiliations with Malalas from others that stand in close and immediate relation to a second Dictys-source other than Malalas. Thus, as we have seen above, Kedrenos agrees closely with Malalas from the opening of his history through the account of the Embassy to Priam. With the opening of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, on the other hand, Kedrenos has combined with features peculiar to Malalas others found only in Septimius. At the end of this episode, however, Kedrenos returns to his first source and relates in accordance with Malalas the Death and Discoveries of Palamedes and the earlier portion of the Greek Forays. Suddenly, however, he again introduces an (apparent) interpolation from Dictys and relates, in contradistinction to Malalas, the Septimian version of the Wrath of Achilles. Thereupon he again returns to his first source and relates in accordance with Malalas the Forays of Ajax and Death of Polydorus. At this point he inserts, in direct contradiction of the Septimian account that precedes, a second (Homeric) version of Achilles' Wrath, in which he represents the return of Achilles to battle as due to the death of Patroclus. Immediately thereafter he again returns to his first source and relates the story of the Siege and of a large portion of the Capture of Troy in general consonance with Malalas. When, however, he reaches the story of the Wooden Horse, he once more reverts to his second source and relates in frequent accordance with Septimius and John of Antioch the Virgilian account of the construction of the Horse, the pretext and mode of its admittance into the city, the departure of the Greeks for Tenedos, the signal given for their return, together with a more or less detailed account of the slaughter and capture of the Trojans. Finally, with the exception of the Adventures of Orestes,¹ Kedrenos, in his account of the Return of the

¹ Which is not preserved in the extant fragments of Antioch and has been evidently much condensed in Septimius.

Greeks, presents, as over against Malalas, many specific points of resemblance to Septimius and Antioch.

In the second place, Kedrenos, as we have indicated, not only presents two contradictory versions of the Wrath of Achilles but introduces obviously composite accounts of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia and of the Wooden Horse under the significant captions *οἱ δὲ . . . φασὶ κτλ.* (219, 11), and *φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι κτλ.* (229, 22), respectively.

Finally, Gelzer (op. cit. II, 358–78) and Patzig (progr. 1892, p. 18; Byz. Zs. I, 138 ff.) have found that precisely the same combination of extracts "from two separate sources" that appears in Kedrenos occurs likewise in an earlier version of Dictys preserved in Codex Parisinus, 1712.¹ There can, accordingly, be no doubt that, as these critics maintain, Codex Parisinus was the immediate source of Kedrenos and that it was in this text that Kedrenos found that conjunction of diverse elements which, as the author of a world-chronicle, he could, as little as John of Antioch, be thought of as having brought together himself.

But while it is clear from what has been said that we have in Kedrenos the results of what appears to have been an earlier compilation effected by the author of Codex Parisinus 1712, it is by no means clear that, as Patzig supposes, the compilation in question was extracted in part from Malalas and in part from John of Antioch. That such, indeed, was not the case, and that Kedrenos, notwithstanding apparent indications to the contrary, is to be looked upon as derived (through the medium of Codex Parisinus) from one and not from two versions of Dictys, will appear from the following considerations.

That, in the first place, Kedrenos is not derived from Malalas, is shown by the fact that he relates his account of the Siege and Capture of Troy, in which, as we have seen, he resembles Malalas, not in the dialogue-form peculiar to that author, but in the same straightforward epic fashion that appears in Septimius and John of

¹ Patzig claims that the author of Codex Parisinus 1712 compiled his Dictys-materials in larger part from Malalas, but inserted interpolations from Antioch in such a manner that he retains more nearly the word-order of Antioch in the interpolations than of Malalas in the main body of his text.

Antioch. On this account we have as little reason as in the case of John of Antioch to suppose, with Patzig (Byz. Zs. II, 425), that Kedrenos could have drawn his materials from one author, Malalas, and his method of presenting these materials from a second author, Dictys. Moreover, as Patzig has observed (Byz. Zs. II, 428), Kedrenos nowhere reproduces in his account of the Siege of Troy Malalas' repeated allusions to Pyrrhos (Mal. 111, 12; Ekl. 206, 12; Mal. 113, 17; Ekl. 207, 26; Mal. 122, 8 ff.; Ekl. 216, 17 ff.) These omissions Patzig attempts to explain away on the supposition that Kedrenos in his omission of the dialogues omitted also all references to Pyrrhos, who appears as abettor of Ajax in the first dialogue (Mal. 113, 17; Ekl. 207, 26) and as his interlocutor in the second (Mal. 122, 8 ff.; Ekl. 206, 17 ff.). But this hypothesis not only fails to explain why Kedrenos has omitted Malalas' allusion to Pyrrhos in the first passage (Mal. 111, 12; Ekl. 206, 12), which, as containing reference to the immolation of Polyzena, is not structurally implicated in either dialogue, but it also fails to take account of the fact that Kedrenos has also omitted an earlier passage in which, in connection with his portrait of that hero, Malalas (Mal. 104, 9 ff.) gives a prolonged account of the personal history of Pyrrhos. Finally, in case we assume that Kedrenos derived from Malalas those sections of his history in which he resembles that author, we should expect a reproduction of Malalas' Portraits, which stand between the Death of Polydoros and the Dictys-citation, both reproduced by Kedrenos, and of his reference to Sisyphos of Cos, which likewise occurs in connection with a portion of Malalas' account of the Siege of Troy reproduced by Kedrenos. Both of these features are, however, omitted by Kedrenos and constitute thereby additional evidence that that author did not, as Patzig supposes, derive his account of the Siege of Troy or any other portion of his version of Dictys from Malalas, but that he went back, instead, in company with John of Antioch and Septimius, to an earlier version of Dictys in which the portraits found in Malalas had either become displaced or else entirely omitted and in which the dialogues and accompanying allusion to Sisyphos of Cos had not as yet made their appearance.

In the second place, it is equally impossible to regard the second set of passages above indicated, in which Kedrenos differs from Malalas and agrees with Dictys, as due to a special use of John of Antioch. For in his first version of the Wrath of Achilles and in his account of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia Kedrenos agrees, not with John of Antioch, but with Septimius. Moreover, even as regards those particulars in respect to which Kedrenos exhibits specific agreements with John of Antioch, there is no need to assume, with Patzig (*Byz. Zs.* II, 426), a use of that author. For the verbal coincidence between Kedrenos and Antioch is by no means sufficiently close to render probable the assumption that the former derived from the latter his allusion to Homer as an authority for the Ship-catalogue and his reproduction of the Homeric version of Achilles' return to battle. Furthermore Septimius mentions the Death of Patroclos (III, 12) and the funeral games in honor of that hero (III, 17), and there can, in consequence, be little doubt that Kedrenos, no less than Antioch, was induced by suggestions already present in a Greek Dictys to engraft these more specifically Homeric allusions upon an original in which, as in Septimius, they were lacking. Quite as little is it to be supposed that Kedrenos derived his reference to the twenty-four armed men concealed in the Wooden Horse from Antioch, in whom the number given is nine, but rather that he was again led by the elaborate Dictaeon story of the Wooden Horse to make direct use of a Greek translation of Virgil, in which the original number nine had become corrupted to twenty-four.

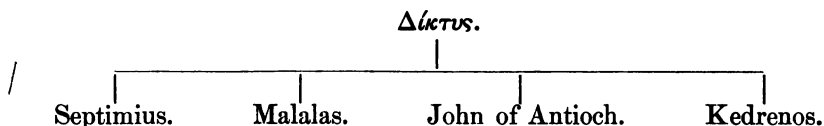
Finally, it is by no means possible to argue from Kedrenos' frequent habit of presenting alternative versions of a given episode that his version of Dictys is a compilation. For Antioch (as represented by Suidas, sub *Παλλάδιον*) likewise introduces, under the caption *οἱ δὲ ποιητικῶς γράψαντες κτλ.*, a dual version of the origin of the Palladion, and it is, as we have seen, manifestly impossible to regard Antioch as a blend of two earlier versions. Moreover Septimius, as we have seen (p. 70, note 1), is in the constant habit of offering alternative explanations of various occurrences (as of the origin of the pestilence of Aulis, the disappearance

of Himera, etc.), and it is clearly impossible to regard the Latin Ephemeris as a composite of earlier versions.

We must accordingly conclude, as a result of the foregoing considerations, that Kedrenos, no less than John of Antioch, is derived from a single version of Dictys. As regards the position of this Kedrenos-original there can be no doubt that it runs back to a Byzantine original which antedated the peculiar Sisypchos-redaction to which Malalas had access and yet, at the same time, preserved, somewhat more distinctly than the Antioch-original, those common Byzantine features of style and episodic treatment that reappear in Malalas and underlie with greater or less uniformity all the Byzantine versions of Dictys.

Results as Regards the Interrelation of Septimius and the Byzantines.

From the foregoing consideration of the relation between Septimius and the Byzantines it becomes clear that the Byzantines derived their versions of Dictys neither from Septimius nor from one another, and that it accordingly becomes necessary to postulate as the common source of the Greek and Latin versions an earlier Greek Dictys from which each version was derived independently of the others. We accordingly obtain the following scheme of derivation :



This scheme fails, however, to take into account those radical differences in style and episodic treatment which, as we have seen (p. 44), separate Septimius, on the one hand, from the Byzantine group, on the other. Now as respects these differences, it is by all means probable that Septimius, who wrote earlier than the Byzantines, preserves, in general, an earlier and purer version of Dictys than they, and that the variations in question are, in consequence, due to deviations from the original on the part of the latter

rather than of the former. A variety of general considerations predispose us to this view.

It is, in the nature of the case, more reasonable to suppose that Septimius, who was solely concerned with the annals of Dictys, should, in his translation, depart less radically from the original form of these annals than the Byzantines, who, as world-chroniclers, were concerned rather with the task of adapting the annals of Dictys to the requirements of universal history. Again, it is less natural to assume that Septimius, who, in general, far exceeds the Byzantines in bulk and fulness of treatment, expanded the contents of the Greek Dictys, than that the Byzantines compressed the contents of this original to the narrow dimensions of what constituted but a single chapter in their world-histories. Instances, again, are not wanting in which Septimius appears to represent more nearly than the Byzantines the order of incidents originally present in the Greek Dictys. Thus Septimius, who, in contrast to Malalas (Oxford text), introduces his Dictys-citation and Ship-catalogue before and not after the departure of the Greek fleet from Aulis, not only observes the logical (and traditional) order of arrangement, but agrees, in so far as the earlier position of the Ship-catalogue is concerned, with Ekloge, John of Antioch, and Kedrenos (*vid. tab.*). If now, Septimius preserves, in contrast to the Oxford Malalas, the original position of the Ship-catalogue, he must also preserve, in contrast to Malalas (Oxford text and Ekloge) and Kedrenos, the original position of the Dictys-citation, which, as we have seen (p. 31), is, in all extant versions of Dictys, immediately connected therewith, and which we must accordingly regard as having become displaced from its original position by the Byzantine redactors of Dictys.¹

¹ As regards the original position of the Dictys-citation in John of Antioch, no certain inference can be drawn from the extant fragments of that author. In these fragments Dictys is cited on five separate occasions, of which four (Sik. 8, 6-7; Salm. frag. 24, 3, 4, 5) occur subsequent to the departure of the Greeks from Aulis, and but one (Const. frag. 23), prior to that event. That, however, this one represents the original position of the Dictys-citation and that the later four are but repetitions of this earlier citation, is rendered probable by the fact that Dictys is here cited in immediate conjunction with an allusion to the Ship-catalogue (*cf. p. 27*).

It is, furthermore, to be observed that Septimius gives, in contradistinction to the Byzantines, a full and circumstantial treatment of all that pertains to Dictys' native kingdom of Crete. Thus Septimius dwells, at the very outset of his history (Eph. I, 1), with peculiar emphasis upon the assemblage of the Greek kings at Crete to share the patrimony of Atreus, whereas the Byzantines state merely that Menelaus, soon after Paris' arrival in Sparta, sails to Crete to perform a yearly sacrifice to Jove (Mal. 94, 6-10; Ekl. 198, 20-23; J. of A. 5, 10; Kedr. 217, 15-18). In like manner, we again find in the sixth book of the Ephemeris frequent allusions to Crete as the home of Dictys. Hither, at the close of the war, Dictys returns in company with Idomeneus and Meriones (Eph. VI, 2), there he is afterwards visited by Menelaus and Orestes, who inform him either of their own adventures or of those of their comrades (Eph. VI, 3, 4), and it is to save that country from a scourge of locusts that he subsequently repairs to the oracle at Delphi (Eph. VI, 11). These frequent allusions to Crete must, in the nature of the case, have stood in the Greek Dictys, and furnish clear evidence that we have in Septimius, who retains them, a closer reproduction of the original, than in the Byzantines, who omit them. Again, although both Septimius and the Byzantines not infrequently betray evidence of having abbreviated or omitted incidents more fully recounted in the Greek Dictys,¹ the preponderance

¹ Instances in which the original form of Dictys may be conjecturally reconstructed on the basis of the Byzantines, and fuller readings supplied from them in Septimius, are of comparatively slight moment and occur, for the most part, in that sixth book in which Septimius acknowledges that he has condensed the contents of his Greek original (cf. pp. 111 ff.). Such instances in the first five books, indicated, for the most part, by Koerting (pp. 21 ff.) and Noack (pp. 426 ff.), are as follows. Malalas (Mal. 95, 22-96, 1) supplies, in the explicit statement that Menelaus was offended because Aethra, who had been left in charge of Helen, aided Paris in the capture of her mistress, the reason why Septimius (I, 3) represents Menelaus as more incensed at the defection of his kinswomen, Aethra and Clymene, than at the loss of his wife. Again, it is probable that Kedrenos (Kedr. 222, 3-8), in his Homeric representation of Achilles as not returning to battle until after the death of Patroclus, and not Septimius (II, 51), who relates these events in the reverse order, preserves the original sequence of these events. Again, Malalas, who states (Mal. 104, 15) that Pyrrhos came to Troy to avenge his father's death and that

of such abbreviations is to be found in the Byzantines, whose deficiencies may not infrequently be supplied from Septimius. Thus Septimius, who gives (Eph. III, 26) the traditional story of Hecuba's Dream, explains why it is that the Byzantines merely represent Priam as consulting an oracle on his son's birth (Mal. 92, 1-3; Ekl. 197, 15-16; J. of A. 4, 4; Kedr. 216, 13-16). Again Septimius, who mentions Menelaus, Odysseus, and Palamedes as participants in the first embassy of the Greeks to Priam (Eph. I, 5-11),¹ and who gives a full account of a later embassy to negotiate the exchange of Polydoros for Helen (Eph. II, 20-23), shows that Malalas and Kedrenos, who, in their accounts of the first embassy, mention merely Menelaus (Mal. 97, 9; Ekl. 200, 3) or Menelaus and Odysseus (Kedr. 218, 18-22) and merely note the occurrence of the later embassy (Mal. 103, 8; Kedr. 223, 1), are deficient in their representation of these incidents. Again, the discrepancy between a passage in which Malalas leaves

(Mal. 104, 21-105, 3) Pyrrhos greets Briseis, upon his arrival, and appoints her guardian of his property, explains the cause of Neoptolemus' unexpected arrival in Septimius (IV, 15), and satisfies the expectations aroused by Septimius' description of the meeting between Pyrrhos and Briseis. Still again, we must assume, for reasons already indicated (p. 65, note 1), that Septimius (V, 16) in his representation of Hecuba as slain after the departure of Odysseus and buried at Abydos, has, perhaps from confusion with Cynosema at Abydos, altered an original version in which, as in John of Antioch (Suidas sub. *Κυνὸς σῆμα*) and Kedrenos (232, 13-16), Hecuba was slain by the companions of Odysseus and buried at Cynosema in Maroneia. Finally, it is probable that the Byzantines (Malalas, as repr. by Tzetzes, Hom. v. 362-285; Kedr. 230, 3-7), who represent Palamedes as stoned to death on the evidence of forged letters, and not Septimius (II, 15), who represents that hero as lured into a pit and stoned to death from above, retain the original version of this incident; for their version is the more common, being found, also, in the Schol. to Euripides' *Orestes* 452; in Cicero, *Tusc.* I, 41, 89; Ovid, *Metam.* XII, 56 ff; Hyginus, *Fab.* 103; and in Servius, *ad Aen.* II, 81. That, in like manner, the Byzantine version of the Death of Oinone (Mal. 111, 7-8; J. of A. 9, 15; Kedr. 229, 2-3), according to which, at the sight of Paris' corpse, she hung herself, and not the Septimian version (Eph. IV, 21), according to which she died of a broken heart, is the original one, is rendered probable not only by the consensus of the Byzantines, but also by the recurrence of the same version in Kolon (c. XXIII), Appolodoros (III, 12, 6) and, in all probability in Kephalion (cf. Chassang, p. 127; Koerting, pp. 43, 44; and Noack, p. 474).

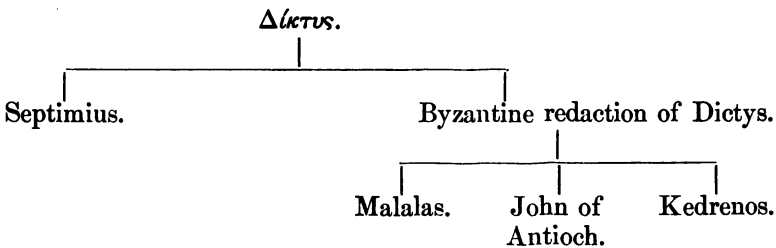
¹ Also John of Antioch, who likewise, mentions all three ambassadors as taking part in the first embassy to Troy (5, 28).

Iphigenia in Aulis (Mal. 98, 20; Ekl. 200, 20) and a later passage in which he reintroduces her in Scythia (Mal. 136, 19; Ekl. 224, 3), is reconciled by Septimius, who states (Eph. I, 22) that at Aulis Achilles gave Iphigenia to the king of Scythia; and the obscurity in a further passage in which Malalas (Mal. 130, 9-10; Ekl. 218, 1-2) represents Priam, on his visit to Achilles' tent, as offering Polyzena to the Greek warrior, although no tenderness has as yet passed between them, and in which John of Antioch (8, 29) mentions a "revival" (*ἀναγεῶσαι*) of Achilles' affection, is removed by Septimius, who has already stated, in an earlier passage (Eph. III, 2, 3) that Achilles has fallen in love with Polyzena in the temple of Apollo and has treated for her with Hector. Entirely strange to the Byzantines is finally, the ingenious contrivances by which Dictys, in his sixth book, undertakes to account for the way in which he obtained his information with regard to the return of the Greeks. Many of the Greeks, being excluded from home by civil dissensions that had occurred in their absence, repair to Corinth, where they find Idomeneus (Eph. VI, 2); others, including Menelaus and Orestes, afterwards visit Idomeneus at Crete, where they relate to him the adventures that have befallen them on their return from Troy, or request his aid in the adjustment of their domestic difficulties (Eph. VI, 3, 4); and, finally, as we have seen (p. 12, note 1), Dictys attends in person the Nuptials of Neoptolemus in Sparta (Eph. VI, 10), where he learns the events that have befallen that hero subsequent to his departure from Troy.¹ Peculiar to Septimius are, likewise, two representations that shed still further light upon obscurities in Malalas. Septimius states (Eph. VI, 2) that Oeax persuades Aegiale and Clytemnestra of the infidelity of their absent lords, Diomedes and Agamemnon, by forged letters in which he represents them as having taken concubines in Troy, and thus explains why it is that Malalas

¹ These specific references to the means by which Dictys gained his information with regard to the concluding portion of his history must, of course, have stood in the original Dictys-recital and constitute the strongest evidence that we have in Septimius' sixth book the isolated remains of a Dictys-web which is entirely omitted by the Byzantines but which must have existed in far more complete and intelligible form in the original Greek Dictys.

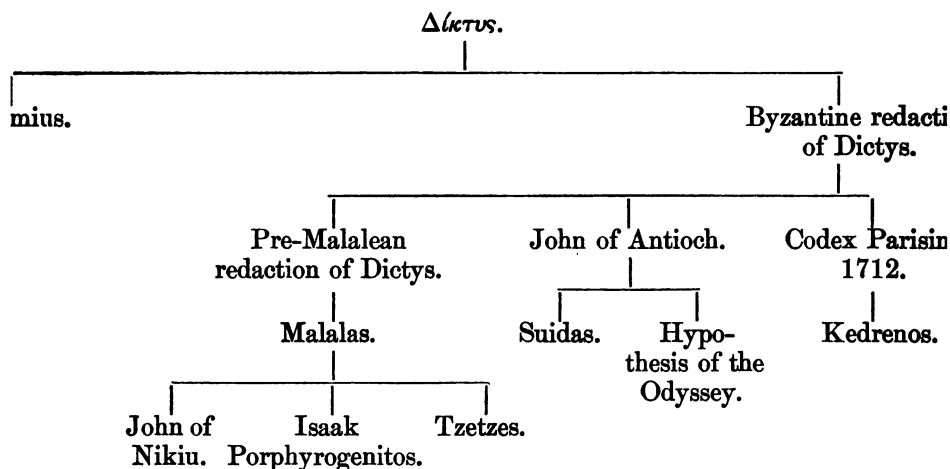
(Mal. 135, 7) represents Oeax as pleading the cause of Clytemnestra at the trial of Orestes ; and, again, Septimius states (Eph. VI, 2) that Teucer, having been banished from home by his father Telamon, for having failed to aid his brother Ajax in the Palladion-strife, repaired to Cyprus where he founded a new Salamis (Eph. VI, 4), and thus explains, as we have (p. 59), why Malalas (Mal. 122, 13 ; Ekl. 216, 16-17) represents Teucer on the occasion of his dialogue with Pyrrhos as having returned to Troy from Salamis in Cyprus. Again, as Noack (pp. 496-7) and Fürst (Philol. LX, 334-5) have pointed out, the Byzantine redactors of Dictys place the Trojan War either in the times of the High-priest Eli (Ekl. 197, 3), of King Saul (Kedr. 216, 11), or of King David (Mal. as repr. by Manasses, v. 1107 ; J. of A. 7, 16 ; Salm. frag. 24, 3). These specifications, which, as already indicated (p. 87, note 1), nowhere occur in Septimius, and are to be regarded as late Christian interpolations in the pagan annals of Dictys, furnish clear and convincing evidence that we have in the Byzantines later and less pure versions of Dictys than in Septimius.

From what has been said, it appears that the foregoing variations between Septimius and the Byzantines are to be attributed, not to the former, but to the latter ; furthermore, that these variations, being common to all the Byzantines alike, cannot have been introduced by each member of this group in turn, but must have been present in an earlier Byzantine redaction of Dictys, from which in each extant version they were independently derived. We gain, accordingly, the following amended scheme of derivation :



But, as we have already seen, each individual Byzantine version possesses, in addition to the foregoing points of agreement with the

others, a substratum of differences peculiar to itself. Chief of these inter-Byzantine differences are that changed order of episodic arrangement and these references to Sisyphe of Cos which distinguish Malalas from John of Antioch and Kedrenos, and which, as we have seen, were undoubtedly introduced by a pre-Malalean redactor of Dictys. Lesser differences occur, in like manner, between John of Antioch and Kedrenos, John of Antioch tending to agree somewhat more closely with Septimius, Kedrenos with Malalas. From Malalas, finally, were derived the Dictys-material in the chronicle of John of Nikiu,¹ and in the Trojan histories of Isaak Porphyrogenitos and Tzetzes; from John of Antioch, that in the glosses of Suidas and in the Hypothesis of the Odyssey; while Kedrenos exhibits the same disposition of incidents present in the earlier Codex Parisinus 1712. We accordingly obtained as our final scheme of interrelationship the following:



Byzantine Knowledge of Latin.

It is necessary, in the concluding pages of our consideration of the Byzantine versions of Dictys, to expose the futility of the means to which advocates of a Latin Dictys are compelled to resort in order to maintain their theory that Malalas translated

¹ Vid. p. 112, note 2.

his Dictys' annals from the Latin Ephemeris. In extenuation of this claim, these critics undertake to show from internal evidence that Malalas possessed sufficient acquaintance with Latin to translate Septimius, and that it consequently becomes unnecessary to posit as his source the existence of a Greek Dictys. To disprove the validity of this attempt is, in reality, superfluous. For even if it could be shown, as appears most improbable, that Malalas knew sufficient Latin to translate the Dictys'-annals of Septimius, it would still remain possible that a Greek version of Dictys existed, and that, as a Greek, Malalas would have preferred this Greek version to the Latin version of Septimius. Moreover, positive proof that Malalas, whether he may be supposed to have known Latin or not, did not, in either event, translate his Dictys' annals from Septimius, has already been found in the presence in Malalas of contents incapable of extraction from Septimius. Nevertheless, in order to make the refutation of our adversaries complete, it will not be amiss to devote a few words to the demonstration of the inherent improbability of a theory which has played no unimportant part in the history of Dictys-controversy.

Dunger (pp. 15 ff.) contends, in support of the view that Malalas translated Septimius, that a knowledge of Latin was still common among the educated Byzantines of the sixth to the ninth centuries¹; that Malalas uses a large number of Latin words in his *Χρονολογία*²; and that he cites, in the course of that work, no fewer than twelve Latin authors.³ In reply to these arguments, it may be answered that Malalas was not, like Anna Komnena,⁴ a learned historian, but a popular annalist, who com-

¹ The period within some portion of which Dunger believes that Malalas lived.

² That Latin words abound in Malalas there can be no doubt. Koerting (*De vocibus Lat. quae apud J. M. inveniuntur*, 1879, p. 20) finds 157 Latin expressions in 800 passages of the *Χρονολογία*.

³ Thus Malalas cites Virgil six times; Livy, three times; Eutropius, Servius, and Lucan, twice each; Sallust, Florus, Juvenal, Pliny, Suetonius, C. Licinius Macer, and an otherwise unknown Brunichius once each (cf. Dunger, pp. 19, 20; Koerting, p. 60).

⁴ Who, although a late historian (1083-1148) knew Latin (cf. E. Oster, *Anna Komnena*, Rastatt, 1868-71, I, 44; III, 58; J. H. Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters*, Halle, 1869, p. 305).

posed his *Χρονογραφία* as a vulgar digest for monkish consumption.¹ Again, although Malalas lived in the sixth century, and therefore at the opening of the period in which Dunger believes that a knowledge of Latin still prevailed among the Byzantines, it is nevertheless certain that the period of greatest activity in the study of Latin authors had by the latter half of the sixth century, when he wrote his *Χρονογραφία*, already past. For there is abundant evidence that a knowledge of Latin among the Byzantines was much less common in the period following the promulgation of the Pandects of Justinian (sixth century), than in the period preceding that event. In the earlier period the spread of the Latin language, consequent upon the removal of the Imperial Capital from Rome to Byzantium, (third century) was rapid, and resulted in the composition of many original treatises in Latin, to the translation of Greek works into Latin, and of Latin works into Greek ;² but in the later period the growing prominence of the eastern capital rendered the acquisition of Latin less and less important, and resulted at length in the almost complete disuse of that language. Again, the Latin words which Malalas uses, though numerous, are almost all technical terms (pertaining to politics, jurisprudence, etc.),³ and technical terms of this character were common in the vulgar Greek of his day.⁴ The Latin words he uses are, moreover, almost invariably accommodated to a Greek system of phonology and inflection.⁵ Finally, as Koerting has

¹ A circumstance that accounts in large part for its subsequent use as a popular model for the baser order of historians down to the time of Michael Glykas (cf. Dunger, p. 15 ; Patzig, progr. 1891, p. 4 ; Krumbacher, p. 114).

² In this period the Byzantine scholars, Dositheus (third century), Diomedes (fourth century), Rufinos (fifth century), and Priscian (sixth century) composed in Latin original treatises on Latin grammar ; Euagrius, bishop of Antioch, translated a Greek author into Latin ; and Kapito and Zenobios translated Latin authors into Greek (cf. Dunger, pp. 9, 17 ; Patzig, progr. 1891, p. 5 ; Noack, p. 448 ; Teuffel, p. 1077 ; and Fürst, Philol. LX, 242).

³ E. g. *παλάτιον* (= palatium), Mal. 94, 15 ; *ἑδικτον* (= edictum), Mal. 216, 14 ; *μάγιστρος* (= magister), Mal. 329, 20 ; *ἀσεκρήτης* (= a secretis), Mal. 494, 8.

⁴ Cf. Mullach, *Grammatik d. griech. Vulgarsprache*, Berlin, 1856, (passim) ; Koerting, pp. 58 ff.

⁵ E. g. *τριομβυράτωρ* (= triumvir), Mal. 214, 6 ; 221, 5 ; *βερνάκυλοις* (= vernaculis), Mal. 186, 24. The limitations of Malalas' linguistic experience with

shown (p. 62), there is no reason to suppose that Malalas consulted at first hand the Latin authors whom he cites. For he either cites these authors incorrectly, that is, as authority for statements they do not make,¹ or, when correctly, for such slight and trivial details as might easily have been gathered from Greek translations of the authors in question.² Indeed, the extent of his knowledge of Latin literature is sufficiently revealed by the fact that he calls Sallust and Cicero poets (Mal. 212, 8.³) Moreover, as Noack (pp. 448 ff.) and Fürst (Philol. LX, 243) have pointed out, we should expect that if Malalas were to follow Latin authors in any portion of his *Χρονογραφία*, he would do so in that portion in which his citations of these authors very naturally occur, namely, in that portion devoted to Roman History (Lib. VII–XII). But here no more Latin words occur than in these later portions in which he follows oriental authors. Furthermore, pretty conclusive evidence that, whatever may have been his practice with regard to other Latin authors, Malalas made at any rate no use of a Latin Dictys, is to be found in the fact that he uses no more Latin words in his history of the Trojan War than elsewhere in the *Χρονογραφία*.⁴ Finally, as Koerting (pp. 18, 62) and Patzig (Byz. Zs. I, 135) have shown, Malalas, though in the habit of specifying with regard to a Latin author the language in which

Latin may be further gauged by many curious examples of faulty etymologies. Thus he derives the Latin word *prasinus* from a Greek verb *πραισινεύω* and gives it the meaning *permanens* (Mal. 176, 3). Cf. Hodus, *Proleg. to Malalas*, ed. Dindorf, p. lxvii.

¹ As when, for example, Malalas cites Lucan as authority for the statements that Caesar killed Pompey in Egypt (Mal. 215, 12), and that Augustus killed Brutus (Mal. 224, 20).

² As when, for example, he attributes the *Catalina* to Sallust and quotes from that work Caesar's reference to Perseus, king of Macedonia (Mal. 209, 2; *Cat. cap. 41*), or when he assigns a description of the nocturnal Orgia to the fourth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Mal. 285, 6 ff.; *Aen. IV*, 302 ff.) and, by reason of the description there given of the inscription of the battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield, designates the eighth book of the *Aeneid* *δρακιδιοποιία* (Mal. 220, 2).

³ Cited by Krumbacher, p. 114.

⁴ Indeed, as Noack has pointed out (p. 449), Malalas on one occasion uses in his history of Dictys a Latin word not found in the corresponding passage in Septimius: e. g. *σὸν τῷ σίγνῳ* (Mal. 126, 5; *Ekl. 218, 6*; cf. *Eph. IV, 2*).

he wrote,¹ makes no such specification on any one of the six occasions upon which he cites Dictys.²

(3) THE STRUCTURE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE LATIN EPHEMERIS.

The same necessity for assuming the existence of a Greek Dictys that exists in the case of the foregoing consideration of the relation that the Latin Ephemeris sustains to the Byzantine versions of Dictys, occurs likewise when we pass to an examination of the structure and constitution of the Latin text itself.

Presumptive evidence of the Greek origin of the Ephemeris is already to be found in the fact that it purports to be a pre-Homeric record of the Trojan War, composed by an eye-witness of that event, and afterwards brought to light in a miraculous fashion. Reports of forgeries based upon similar fictions abound in Greek literature, but are unknown in the literature of the Romans.³ Thus Malalas, as we have seen (p. 14, note 1) reports the existence of the pre-Homeric annals of Sisypchos of Cos and Pheidaios of Corinth; Suidas, of Korinnos the Ilian; Aelian, of Syagrius; Ptolemaios Chennos, of Dares the Phrygian, Antipater the Acanthian, and a large number of other pre-Homeric records, of many of which the existence was, no doubt, mythical (cf. p. 80, note 2). That this entire class of forgeries, which are invariably reported by Greek authors, were also written in Greek, is rendered probable by the (Greek) subject of which they treat, the (Greek) names of the authors to whom they are ascribed, the characteristically Greek subtilty displayed in the ingenious fictions by which they are accompanied, and by the fact that all extant specimens of such forgeries (Dictys, Dares, and presumably, in part, Sisypchos) betray

¹ With the two noteworthy exceptions of Sallust and Florus, each of whom he cites but once, Malalas invariably specifies with regard to a Roman author that he wrote in Latin.

² The absurd belief of Dunger (p. 15) that Malalas purposely refrained from acknowledging his indebtedness to the Latin Dictys in order not to invalidate the claims of that author to pre-Homeric antiquity has already been sufficiently refuted above (p. 32, note 3).

³ Cf. Gudeman, *Literary Frauds among the Greeks*, in *Classical Studies in honor of Henry Drisler*, pp. 52-74; and *Literary Frauds among the Romans*, op. cit. 140 ff.

a spirit of antagonism to Homer which elsewhere finds reflection only in the works of Greek authors (cf. the *Ἡρωϊκός* of Philostratos, the lost *Ἀνθόμηνος* of Chennos, and the various anti-Homeric diatribes of Greek origin mentioned p. 13, note 2).¹

Again, the contents of the Latin Ephemeris are, as shown by Dederich (1837, Praef. pp. xvii-xxxii ff.); Koerting (1874, pp. 1 ff.); Dunger (1878, pp. 38 ff.); and Lehrs (1878, pp. 133 ff.), drawn, for the most part, from Greek authors.² Thus from Homer's *Iliad* are derived the list of Greek leaders (I, 13, 14); the Ship-catalogue (I, 17); the list of Trojan allies (II, 35); and the famous opening lines of Priam's speech to Helen (III, 21; II. γ 164 f.); from Appolodoros' *Βιβλιοθήκη*, the account of the descent of the kings of Greece from Atreus (I, 1; Appol. III, 2, 1-2); the number (36) and many of the names of Priam's sons (Eph., passim; Appol. III, 12, 5); the genealogies of Helen (I, 9; Appol. III, 10, 3-4) and Antenor (IV, 22; Appol. III, 12); the Description of the Palladion (V, 5; Appol. III, 12, 3); from Lykophron's *Κασσάνδρα* (and scholiasts), the representation of the king of Scythia as present at the Sacrifice of Iphigenia (I, 22; Lyk. v. 200 ff.); mention of the oenotropae (I, 23; Lyk. v. 580); the account of the disposition of Penthesilea's body (IV, 3; schol. to v. 999); of the plots of Oeax (VI, 1, 2; Lyk. v. 612 ff.); and of the Death of Odysseus at the hands of Telegonos (VI, 15; Lyk. v. 795 ff.)³; from Ptolemaios Chennos' *Καυὴ ἱστορία*, the representative of Menelaus as absent at Crete at the time of Paris' arrival in Sparta (I, 1; Ptol. Lib. V); of Palamedes as chosen to

¹ Cf. Fabricius (1697) *Biblio. Graec.* I, cap. 34; Heyne (1819), *Excurs.* I to *Aen.* II; Hercher (1855), *loc. cit.*; Chassang (1862) *op. cit.*, pp. 347 ff.; Herzberg (1867), in Ebert, *Jahrb.* VIII, 160; Joly (1870), *op. cit.* II, 198 ff.; and Gudeman (1894), *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

² Although, for the reason already stated (p. 3, note 1), it is not always possible to determine with certainty the author from whom a given incident in *Dictys* is taken, and the danger of mistaking mere analogies for origins cannot, in consequence, be altogether eliminated, the authors here specified appear to represent, in general, the range of *Dictys'* sources.

³ These and other analogies between *Dictys* and Lykophron pointed out by Dunger are disputed by Lehrs (pp. 134 ff.) as insufficiently close to establish the indebtedness of the former to the latter. But inasmuch as Lehrs fails to cite any closer analogues, those indicated by Dunger may be provisionally accepted as the sources of the Dictaeon incidents in question.

replace Agamemnon in command (I, 19; Ptol. Lib. V)¹; of Priam as accompanied by Andromache and her children on his visit to Achilles' tent (III, 20; Ptol. Lib. VI); and, possibly, the conception of pre-Homeric annals of the Trojan War afterwards used by Homer (cf. with Prol. and Epis. the story of the records written by Phantasia, Ptol. Lib. V), and of a ms. buried in a tomb (cf. with Prol. and Epis. the story of Kerikidas, the lawgiver, Lib. V); from Philostratos' *Ἡρωϊκά*, the account of the campaign in Moesia (II, 1-7; Philost. 2, 15); of Achilles' love for Polyxena and his Death in the Temple of Apollo² (IV, 10, 11; Philost. 191, 11); and, from his Life of Apollonius of Tyana (IV, 34), the fiction of the earthquake in Crete (Prol. and Epis.). As opposed to this considerable array of incidents drawn from Greek sources, the only details that can be attributed with any degree to probability to Latin authors are the following: the Story of the Capture of Troy (IV, 11-13), and of the pestilence of locusts at Crete (VI, 11), to Virgil (Aen. II, 235 ff.; III, 137 ff.; the list of names of countries in the neighborhood of Phrygia (II, 13, 17, 27; V, 15, 16; VI, 4, 6) to Pliny (V, 30, 31); the account of the Death of Neoptolemus (VI, 12, 13) to Ennius (adaptation of Euripides' *Ἀνδρομάχη*, v. 1243 f.); and, perhaps, the account of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia (I, 19-22) and of the Palladion-strife (V, 14) to Ovid (Metam. XII)³ and representation of Deiphobus as taking part in the murder of Achilles (IV, 11) to Hyginus (Fabul. 110).⁴

¹ Peculiar to Dictys and Chennos is the statement that Agamemnon slew a she-goat instead of the traditional doe.

² A similar account of these two events occur in the Scholia to Lykophron's *Κασσάνδρα* (v. 269 ff.) and it is, consequently, impossible to determine whether Dictys was here indebted to Philostratos or to the (earlier) Lykophron.

³ As already remarked (p. 3, note 1), the dispute between Odysseus and Ajax takes in Ovid the form of a contest for the arms of Achilles, not, as in Dictys, for the Trojan Palladion. In general it may be said that Dictys' points of affinity with Latin authors are not only fewer but less close than with Greek authors.

⁴ Attempts have been made by the advocates of a Greek Dictys to seek evidence of the Greek authorship of the Ephemeris not only in the sources from which Dictys derived his materials but also in the indications of Greek sympathy manifest in his work. But although such indications are unmistakable (cp. p. 10, note 1), the attempt must be dismissed as inconclusive. For Koerting's contention that

In like manner, the structure of the Ephemeris is such as to suggest a Greek rather than a Latin origin. Thus the scope of Dictys' history is comprehensive, embracing all three of the divisions of Trojan history, treated separately by the cyclicists. For example, the opening portion of the Ephemeris, including the events prior to the Trojan war, corresponds in range to the *Κύπρια*; the central portion, comprising the events of the war itself, corresponds, in like manner, to the sum of the separate subdivisions severally treated in the *Ἰλιάς*, *Ἰλιάς μικρά*, *Αἰθιοπία*, and *Πέρσις Ἰλίου*; the latter portion, containing the events subsequent to the war, in part to the *Νόστοι* and in part to the *Τηλεγονία*. The practice of thus combining in one comprehensive whole the several portions of Trojan history treated separately by the earlier cyclicists appears to have been an exclusively Greek practice, an example of such usage being found at a period much later than Dictys, viz. in the case of the twelfth century Byzantine chronographer Tzetzes, who divided his history of the Trojan war into the three sections: *Τὰ πρὸ Ὀμήρου*, *τὰ Ὀμήρου*, and *τὰ μεθ' Ὀμήρου*.

Again, striking corroboration of the truth of Septimius' assertion that he has condensed the last five books of his Greek original in the sixth book of his translation appears in the presence of constant gaps and omissions in this final book of the Latin text. The existence of such abbreviations is made abundantly manifest by a comparison of this sixth book both with the corresponding portions of the Byzantine versions of Dictys and with earlier portions of the Ephemeris itself. Such a comparison reveals that Septimius has, in his account of the Return of the Greeks, omitted many details that may be supplied either from the Byzantines or

it is inconceivable that a Roman author would so far depart from the traditions of his race as to represent Aeneas as a traitor to Troy (Eph. IV, 22; V, 1) and as founding a colony in Corcyra Melaena (Eph. V, 17), instead of in Italy, and that not only the Roman authors Virgil and Pindarus Thebanus but also the Greek authors Tryphiodoros *Ἀλωσις Ἰλίου* (v. 651-655), Quintus of Smyrna (XIII, 333 ff.) and Tzetzes (Posthom. v. 737 f.) represent Aeneas as the founder of the Roman Empire, is overthrown by Dunger (pp. 5, 6) who urges with equal cogency that Livy (I, 1) and Servius (ad Aen. I, 242) represent Aeneas as a traitor to Troy and that Dictys was restrained from a like representation only from fear of betraying the modernity of his work.

from earlier portions of his own history. Thus it is probable that there stood in one or other of the last five books of Septimius' original the following particulars:¹ a statement, as in Kedrenos (Kedr. 234, 12-17), that Diomedes founded Argyrippa (Beneventum) in Italy and carried thither the Trojan Palladion, which, according to Septimius (V, 15) had been left in his charge;² an account of how Aeneas obtained the Palladion from Diomedes and of his subsequent adventures in Italy, as in Malalas (Mal. 167, 7-169, 3; Ekl. 221, 25-222, 15; John of Nikiu, ed. Zotenberg, *Notices et extraits*, Chap. XXIV),³ and in Kedrenos (237, 22-238, 18); a much more circumstantial account of the Death of Agamemnon than in Septimius (VI, 2), and one that more nearly agrees in fulness with that given by John of Antioch (frag. 25) and Kedrenos (233, 23-234, 8), must be assumed in fulfilment of the prophecies uttered with regard to that event by the voice that forbids the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Eph. I, 21) and by Cassandra (Eph. V, 16); a much fuller report of the Adventures of Orestes than in Septimius (VI, 4) and one more in keeping with the copious treatment of this event by Malalas (Mal. 133, 3-142, 20; Ekl. 222, 16-226, 31), who, in this instance (Mal. 135, 11), expressly cites the authority of Dictys in his "sixth rhapsody,"⁴

¹Of which a large number are recorded by Patzig (*Byz. Zs.* XI, 147 ff.).

²The statement that Diomedes founded Argyrippa is found also in Servius (*ad Aen.* VIII, 9).

³That we have to do in the above passage from John, bishop of Nikiu (seventh century), not, as Noack supposes (p. 431), with an independent excerpt from Dictys, but with an extract from Malalas, is rendered probable by the closeness with which Nikiu here reproduces the contents of that chronographer. Slight variations between the two, such as the correct statement by Nikiu that Livinium and Albania were founded by Aeneas and Ascanius respectively, instead of the reverse, as in Malalas, must be interpreted merely as corrections made by Nikiu in the incorrect text of Malalas.

⁴We here hold, in opposition to Greif (1900, p. 20), that Malalas refers in his mention of the "sixth rhapsody of Dictys" to the sixth book of the Greek, not of the Latin Dictys. For Greif's contention that Malalas must here be referring to the last book of the Latin text because this is his last Dictys-citation, is sufficiently refuted by the fact that Malalas fails to reproduce further Dictys-citations in the Latin text which follow the account of Orestes' Adventures (Eph. VI, 3, 4), viz.: the reference to Dictys as present at Neoptolemus' nuptials (Eph. VI, 10), as returning to Crete (Eph. VI, 11), and as undertaking a subsequent trip to Delphi (Eph. VI, 11).

and Kedrenos (234, 18-237, 21); a statement of the way in which Dictys gained his information with regard to the later Adventures of Odysseus,¹ from his departure from Crete (VI, 5) to his death at the hands of Telegonos (VI, 15). Again, expectations are not infrequently aroused in the first five books of the *Ephemeris* which remain unsatisfied in the sixth book. Thus it is by no means clear why Helenos, who in the fifth book (V, 9) foretells that he will afterwards spend some time in Greece with Neoptolemus, nowhere appears in the sixth book as associated with Neoptolemus (VI, 7, 9); or why the sons of Hector, who in the fifth book (V, 16) are delivered by Neoptolemus to Helenos, should in the sixth book reappear in charge of Neoptolemus (VI, 12). Again, in the case of passages not retained by the Byzantines, it is evident from instances of incoherence that Septimius has omitted passages necessary to make the sense complete. Thus we may infer that the reason why Idomeneus is so unexpectedly discovered at Corinth (*Eph.* VI, 2) is because he, like Diomedes (VI, 1) and Agamemnon (VI, 2), has been excluded from home by his wife, whose paramour, Leukos (*Apollodoros*, *Epitoma*, c. XXII), may, like Clytemnestra's bed-fellow Aegistheus (VI, 2), have been mentioned in the Greek *Dictys*. Again, much is left unaccounted for in the story of Menelaus' Adventures. It is not clear on what occasion that hero lost his pilot Canopus, nor what the wonders were which he witnessed in Egypt; why he cherished resentment

¹ We should here naturally expect that Dictys, who is careful to specify the precise occasion on which he gained his information with regard to the earlier Adventures of Odysseus, viz., on the field of battle (I, 13) and when Odysseus suffered shipwreck in Crete (VI, 5), would make the same specification in the case of the later adventures of that hero. That such specification originally stood in the Greek *Dictys* is shown by Eklogarius, who reports (*Ekl.* 216, 14-15) that Dictys learned these later events from certain dream interpreters whom he met in Sparta. In just what way this statement, which finds no further explanation in *Ekloge*, may be supposed to have fitted into the economy of the Dictys-recital is not clear. We read (VI, 10) that Dictys visited Sparta on the occasion of the Nuptials of Neoptolemus. But that this could not have been the occasion on which he learned of the Death of Odysseus is evident from the fact that this event did not occur until some time after Dictys' return, the following year, from Sparta to Crete (VI, 11), being contemporaneous with the death of Neoptolemus (VI, 14), which Dictys witnessed on a subsequent visit to Delphi (VI, 11).

against Orestes (VI, 4), nor why his daughter Hermione, who had but recently married Orestes (VI, 4), should afterwards appear as the wife of Neoptolemus (VI, 10).

Finally, it is necessary to reveal the insufficiency of an argument urged with persistent recurrence by the opponents of a Greek Dictys (Mercerus, 1618, *Introd. to notes to ed. of Dictys*, reprinted by Valpy, *op. cit.* II, pp. 579 ff.; J. Barth, 1624, *loc. cit.*; Vossius, 1627, *loc. cit.*; Anna Fabri, 1680, *Introd. to notes to ed. of Dictys*; Joly, 1870, II, 185 ff.; Meister, 1872, *Praef.* pp. viii-x; Pratje, 1874, *Quaest. Sallust*, *passim*; Dunger, 1878, pp. 7 ff.; and, again, 1886, pp. viii ff.; Lehrs, 1878, pp. 137 ff.; Wagner, 1880, J. J. CXXXVI, 509 ff.; Brännert, 1883, *Sallust u. Dictys Cret.*, *passim*; and Greif, 1886, pp. 4, 245), who find in the presence in the *Ephemeris* of imitations of a variety of Latin authors reason to believe that Dictys is the work of a Latin author.

That the *Ephemeris* contains indubitable evidence of an imitation of Sallust and Virgil is sufficiently indicated by the following passages.

Eph. I, 9: [Priamus] *bonum animum uti gereret [Helenam] hortatur*;¹ Jug. (54, 1): [Metellus] *hortatur . . . parem animum gerant*.

Eph. (I, 14): *Hic [Achilles] in primis adolescentiae annis, procerus, decora facie, studio rerum bellicarum omnes iam tum virtute atque gloria superabat etc.*; Jug. 6, 1: [Iugurtha] *qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, . . . non se luxu neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit, set . . . equitare iaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse*.

Eph. (II, 12): *Cyrenus . . . Graecos invadit eosque ancipiti malo territos, etc.*; (II, 23): *Postquam finem loquendi [Ulixes] fecit, magno silentio cunctis, ut in tali negotio fieri solet, alienam sententiam expectantibus, etc.*; Cat. (29, 1): *ancipiti malo . . . quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet*.

Eph. (IV, 7): *Tum vero cerneret, etc.*; *Redundant circa muros*

¹ Cf. also, the recurrence of the same phrase in the *Ephemeris* (V, 9).

campi sanguine, et omnia, qua hostis intraverat, armis atque cadaveribus completa sunt.; neque prius finis factus, quam Graecos saties . . . incessit.; Cat. (61, 1): . . . tum vero cerneret, etc.; Jug. (101, 11): . . . postremo omnia, qua visus, erat constrata telis armis cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine; Cat. (51, 34): . . . neque prius finis iugulandi fuit quam Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit.

Eph. (I, 9): [Helena] timore poenarum, quas ob desertam domum a coniuge metuebat; Aen. (II, 571 ff.):

[Illa]

Et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras

Praemetuens, etc.

Eph. (III, 15): Antomedonti [Achilles] imperat, daret lora equis. Ita curru concito per campum . . . pervolat, etc.; Aen. (I, 156):

[Triton]

flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo.

Eph. (V, 3): cuncti simul gemitum edunt, tendentes ad caelum manus, etc.; Aen. (I, 93):

[Aeneas]

Ingemit, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas.

Moreover passages are not wanting in which Septimius exhibits resemblances to other Latin authors. As Dederich has pointed out (p. xxxvi), Odysseus, in his speech at Troy (II, 21), expresses himself in language that recalls the opening lines of Cicero's oration Pro Roscio Amerino. Other passages reveal the presence of stylistic imitations of Livy, Caesar, Nepos, Plautus, Terence, and Apuleius. Most frequent, however, are the parallels with Sallust, whose epigrammatic brevity and fondness for archaisms reappear, as Brunnert has observed (p. 11), in Septimius, and of whom Pratje finds in the Ephemeris no fewer than 358 distinct instances of imitation.¹

¹ We believe that the Latinisms *Martem atque concordiam* (I, 15); *lictiores* (II, 33; IV, 14); *instructus legionibus* (IV, 14); and *ad probantibus consilium Aiacis multis bonis* (V, 14), cited by Dunger as an indication of the Latin origin of the Ephemeris, were, like the foregoing borrowings from earlier Latin authors, due wholly to the hand of the translator Septimius.

In the foregoing instances of imitation of Latin authors in the *Ephemeris* the advocates of a Latin *Dictys* discover insuperable objections to the theory that Septimius translated his *Dictys'* annals from a Greek author. For they find it impossible to believe that a translator would have taken the trouble to overlay the substance of his translation with so many borrowings from authors in his own language. But how little faith is to be placed in this contention is clear from the following considerations. In the first place, it is by no means uncommon for a translator to enrich the reproduction of his original with phrases and collocations drawn from his own native literature. Such, for example, was the practice of Hegesippus, who, as Noack has pointed out (p. 461 f.), embodied in his translation of Josephos some of the very same phrases from Sallust that *Dictys* introduces in his *Ephemeris*. Moreover, presumptive evidence that Septimius has, in like manner, interwoven collocations from other Latin authors in his reproduction of *Dictys* is afforded by his own words in the Epistle: "[nobis] cupido incessit ea uti erant Latine disserere, non magis confisi ingenio, quam ut otiosi animi desidiam discuteremus," a statement which can be interpreted only as an explicit declaration on the part of the translator that he has not attempted to adhere closely to the letter of his original, but that, just as he has in the last book of his translation condensed the last five books of that original, so likewise in the earlier portions of his translation he has allowed himself considerable latitude in his method of reproduction. In the second place, we might naturally expect that the Byzantines could not fail to reproduce, in what the advocates of a Latin *Dictys* claims to be their translations of a Latin text originally composed by Septimius, certain of the Latin phrases borrowed by Septimius from the Latin authors under consideration. But Noack has shown (pp. 451 ff.), in a careful comparison of all passages in Septimius that reveal the influence of other Latin authors with all corresponding passages in Malalas and Kedrenos, that neither of these authors express themselves in terms that betray the slightest resemblance to the borrowed phrases employed by Septimius. In the third place, pretty conclusive evidence of the Greek origin of the Latin text is to be found in the many

Greek names that occur in the Ephemeris, e. g. Ephemeris (Epis.); oenotropae (I, 23); Hippodamia (II, 17, 19); Diomedea (II, 19); Astynome (II, 28, 29, 33, 47); Aeantides (V, 16).

Having thus demonstrated the necessity of assuming the existence of a (lost) Greek Dictys as the original from which Septimius translated his Latin memoirs of Dictys, it remains to speak briefly of the relation that may be thought to exist between the Prologue and Epistle prefixed to the Latin text, and of the presumable date of composition of the Latin and the Greek version of Dictys respectively.

As regards, in the first place, the relation between the Prologue and Epistle. It has long been recognized that certain very substantial differences exist between the story of the discovery of the Ephemeris as given in the former and in the latter of these two documents respectively. Thus the Prologue gives *sex*, the Epistle *novem* as the original number of books in the Greek Dictys; the Prologue, through the statement that Dictys was skilled in the language as well as in the alphabet of the Phenicians ([Dictys] *peritus vocis ac litterarum Phoenicum*) and that Nero afterwards had the Ephemeris translated into Greek (*in Graecum sermonem ista transferri*), conveys the impression that the Ephemeris was written not only in the Phenician script, but also in the Phenician language; the Epistle states that the Ephemeris was written in Greek (*oratio Graeca fuerat*), the script merely being Phenician (*litteris Punicis*); and was afterwards transliterated into the Attic dialect (*commutatos litteris Atticis*); the Prologue specifies that Dictys' tomb was opened by an earthquake (*terrae motus*), the Epistle that it collapsed from old age (*per vestutatem*); the Prologue gives *Eupraxides*, the Epistle *Praxis* as the name of the master of the shepherds to whom Dictys' records were carried; the Prologue states that Eupraxides carried these records to Rutilius Rufus, the governor of Crete, and that Rufus conveyed them to Nero, the Epistle that Praxis himself bore the records to Nero; the Prologue relates that Nero himself had these records translated [or transliterated] into Greek, the Epistle that Praxis performed the task of transliteration [translation] before presenting the records to Nero; finally, the

Epistle alone contains reference to Septimius and his translation of Dictys' memoirs from Greek into Latin. The question accordingly arises which of these two versions is to be preferred as giving the original form of the Dictys-fiction.

In answer to this question we believe, with the advocates of a Greek Dictys,¹ that the Prologue was written by the author of the Greek Dictys to accompany that text, and that the Epistle was afterwards added, to take the place of the Prologue, by the translator Septimius. To this conclusion we are led for the following reasons. In the first place, the Prologue gives, with one single exception,² readings that are more specific and circumstantial, and, on that account, better entitled to the rank of genuineness than those contained in the Epistle. Thus it is much more natural to

¹ Obrecht (1691, note to Prol. in ed. of Dictys, reprinted by Valpy, I, 601); Fabricius (1697, Biblio. Graec. I, 30 ff.); Perizonius (1702, op. cit. § XXX, XXXI); Koerting, (pp. 48 ff.).

² Namely the readings [Dictys] *peritus vocis Phœnicum* and *in Graecum sermonem ista transferri*, which would seem to imply, as Koerting recognizes (p. 48), that the Ephemeris was written not only in Phenician script but also in the Phenician language. That here the reading of the Epistle is preferable which states that the language of the Ephemeris was Greek (*oratio Graeca fuerat*), the characters only being Phenician (*litteris Punicis*), is evident from the words that Dictys himself uses in the Ephemeris, V, 17: *Gnosius Dictys . . . conscripsi oratione ea, quam maxime inter tam diversa loquendi genera consequi ac comprehendere potui*, from a gloss formerly attributed to Eudokia (cp. p. 24, note 2) which describes the Ephemeris as *βιβλιον γράμμασι Φοινίκων*, and from the occurrence of the words *Punicas litteras* in a later passage of the Prologue itself. In explanation of the *in Graecum sermonem transferri* of the Prologue and of the Cretan language referred to in the Ephemeris, V, 17, Koerting suggests the possibility of two operations, first the transliteration of the Phenician script into Cretan (or Doric) Greek, which is described in the Ephemeris, V, 17, and, second, the translation of this Doric dialect into Attic, which is described in the Epistle (*commutatos litteris Atticis*), in the gloss attributed to Eudokia (*μεθερμηνεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ γλώττῃ*), and in the Prologue (*in Graecum sermonem, sc. Atticum, transferri*). But that Koerting is presumably in error, and that we are to understand but one single process, which was not that of translation from one dialect into another, but only of transliteration from Phenician into Greek script, is rendered probable by the fact that neither the Prologue, the Epistle, nor the Eudokia-gloss say anything of a Cretan dialect, and that the terms *Graecum* of the Prologue, *Atticis* (*Ἀττικῇ*) of the Epistle (and Eudokia-gloss), and *oratione quam inter tam diversa loquendi genera* (i. e., Punicum, etc.) . . . comprehendere potui of the Ephemeris may very naturally refer to one and the same language, viz., to Attic or standard Greek.

suppose that the name Praxis is a corruption of an earlier Eupraxides than the converse ; that the notion that an earthquake, such as that mentioned by Philostratos (cp. p. 110), was the cause of the disclosure of Dictys' records, than that the tomb of the author merely collapsed through old age ; that these records were officially conveyed to Nero by Rutilius Rufus, governor of Crete, than by an irresponsible shepherd Eupraxides ; and, in particular, that the learned Nero, and not the ignorant Eupraxides, was the person who ordered their transliteration [translation] into Greek.¹ In the second place, convincing evidence that the Epistle was composed as a translator's preface, and, therefore, at a later period than the Prologue, is to be found in the fact that this document is formally addressed by the translator Septimius to his friend Q. Aradius Rufinus, and that it alone contains the story of the way in which the translator performed his task, viz., by condensing the last five books of his original in the final book of his Latin translation. But the question here arises why did not Septimius, in his translators' preface, content himself with the story of translation instead

¹ The advocates of a Latin Dictys are compelled by their theory that Septimius was the author of the Ephemeris to assume either that both the Prologue and the Epistle were the work of Septimius, or else that one or other of these two documents were the spurious addition of a later hand. Dunger (1878, p. 3, note 2) and Grief (1900, pp. 5-7) believe that both the Prologue and the Epistle proceeded from the hand of Septimius, who purposely introduced the above-mentioned variations between the two in order to make it appear that as soi-disant translator of the Ephemeris he was not to be identified with the author of that text ; Havet (1879, *Rev. de Philologie*, III, 81 ff.) believes that Septimius brought out three separate editions of the Ephemeris, the first being an edition of the first five books, for which the Prologue was written, the second an edition of the sixth book, for which that portion of the Epistle that relates to the translation into Latin was prepared, and the third an edition of all six books, for which the entire Epistle was composed ; Teuffel (1892, op. cit. nr. 423, 2), that Septimius published his Ephemeris in two separate editions, to one of which the Prologue was prefixed, to the other the Epistle ; Mercerus (1618, note to Prol. in ed. of Dictys, reprinted in Valpy, op. cit., p. 580), Vossius (1627, *De Hist. Lat.* III, 742), Scioppius (1628, loc. cit.), and Meister (1872, *Praef.* p. vi) that Septimius wrote only the Prologue and that the Epistle was afterwards copied in from Suidas (cf. p. 25, note 1) ; Hildebrand (1838, *J. J.* XXIII, 278 ff.) and Joly (1870, p. 201, note) that Septimius wrote only the Epistle and that the Prologue was afterwards added in imitation of the Epistle.

of adding thereto an inaccurate reproduction of the story of the discovery of Dictys' record which had already been related at length in the Prologue. In answer to this question, we must assume, with Perizonius (op. cit., § XXX) that Septimius translated his annals of Dictys from a ms. in which, as in many later instances,¹ the Prologue was missing, and must believe that in order to make the loss good he repeated as much of the story of Dictys as he could recollect either from what he had heard, or read in a ms. which contained the Prologue.

¹ Thus in many of the oldest codices the Prologue is wanting (as reported by Obrecht and Perizonius); in others (cod. Sangallensis, ninth or tenth century; cod. Bernensis, thirteenth century) the Epistle.

ERRATA.

P. 1, note 3.	for parrellelism read parallelism.
p. 5.	for marshall read marshal.
p. 5, note 1.	for ably read aptly.
p. 5, note 1.	for milia read millia.
p. 10.	for Idomineus read Idomeneus.
p. 12.	for contradition read contradiction.
p. 12.	for deal read detail.
p. 13, note 1.	for mythologicial read mythological.
p. 13, note 2.	for Homeric read Homeric.
p. 16, note 1.	for as famous read so famous.
pp. 23, note 1 ; 26, n. 1.	for exceptors read excerpts.
pp. 29, 51, 53-56, 63.	for portrait read Portrait.
p. 32.	for prol. and epis. read Prol. and Epis.
p. 60.	for introduce read introduces.
p. 60.	for allusions read references.
p. 62.	for their <i>presentation of</i> exact read their exact.
p. 67.	for finally read lastly.
p. 69.	for next read most.
p. 80.	for such a read such.
p. 104.	for obtained read obtain.
p. 105.	for extenuation read support.

LIFE.

I was born in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1873. After spending two years (1888–1890) at Phillips Academy, Andover, and two years (1890–1892) at Williams College, I entered the Johns Hopkins University, where I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1894, and that of Doctor of Philosophy in 1899.

For inspiration in my graduate studies I am greatly indebted to Professors Bert J. Vos, Henry Wood, William Hand Browne, and, in particular, to Professor James W. Bright, under whose invaluable guidance the present study has been conducted.

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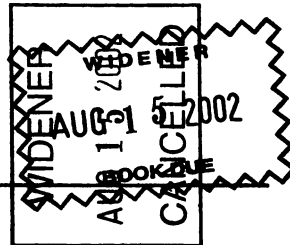
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